

HERMES TRISMEGISTUS, ROME, AND THE MYTH OF EUROPA: AN UNKNOWN TEXT OF GILES OF VITERBO

by John Monfasani

I publish here a text that I discovered some years ago of Giles of Viterbo (1469–1532), the celebrated renaissance Platonist, cabalist, preacher, and head of the Augustinian order when a member of that order, Martin Luther, began the Reformation. The text should command our interest for numerous reasons. But before examining it, we need to consider the problem of the “published” and “unpublished Giles of Viterbo” and then the manuscript in which the text survives.

Giles enjoyed a considerable reputation among contemporaries as a religious thinker and scholar. He wrote a great deal;¹ but if we understand publishing in the sixteenth century normally to mean printing, then Giles published little of what he wrote.² In Father Francis X. Martin’s words, he “fought shy of print.”³ Hence, we have the paradox that his contemporary fame derived hardly at all from the numerous unpublished texts we study today,⁴ but rather from the sermons which he preached throughout his

I am grateful to Anna Maria Voci-Roth (Rome) and Marc Deramaix (Paris) for their criticism of an earlier draft of this article and to my former student Alison Frazier for access to her transcription of chap. 19 of the text edited in the appendix.

¹On Giles’s “tumultuous” style and the condition of his manuscripts in general see the comments of J. W. O’Malley, *Giles of Viterbo on Church and Reform: A Study in Renaissance Thought* (Leiden 1968) 13–18.

²See F. X. Martin, “The Writings of Giles of Viterbo,” *Augustiniana* 29 (1979) 141–193. The only works of Giles printed in his lifetime were the two orations delivered at the Fifth Lateran Council (ibid. 157–159, nos. 5–6), a now lost oration delivered in Barcelona (ibid. 159, no. 7), two short poems in praise of Giles of Rome (ibid. 163, no. 12a–b), and the long poem *Caccia de amore bellissima* (ibid. 164–167, no. 13; see now also S. Foà, “Vicende editoriali di un testo primo cinquecentesco: la *Caccia d’amore*,” *Annali dell’Istituto di filosofia moderna dell’Università di Roma* 1–2 [1984] 15–23). See also F. X. Martin, “Egidio da Viterbo, 1469–1532: Bibliography, 1510–1982,” *Biblioteca e società* 4.1–2 (1982) 45–52, at 52 (“Appendix. The Published Writings of Egidio da Viterbo”) nos. 7–8, 10, 12.I–II, 13; and the articles and literature gathered in *Egidio da Viterbo, O.S.A. e il suo tempo. Atti del V Convegno dell’Istituto Storico Agostiniano, Roma—Viterbo, 20–23 ottobre 1982* (Rome 1983).

³“Egidio da Viterbo” (n. 2 above) 52.

⁴Since the time of Martin’s “The Writings” (n. 2 above) three more editions have appeared: M. B. Hackett, O.S.A., “A ‘Lost’ Work of Giles of Viterbo: Critical Edition of His Treatise on Lecceto,” in *Egidio da Viterbo, O.S.A.* (n. 2 above) 117–136; J. Monfasani, “Sermons of Giles of Viterbo as Bishop. Appendix: Critical Edition of Three of His Sermons,” ibid. 137–189; and A. de Meijer, ed., *Aegidii Viterbiensis O.S.A., Registrum Generalatus 1514–1518* (Rome 1984). Forthcoming are editions of Giles’s *Eclogues* by Marc Deramaix in *Mélanges de l’école française de Rome*, his letters as head of the Augustinian order by Clare O’Reilly, his familiar letters by Anna Maria Voci-Roth, and his commentary on *Sententiarum liber primus usque ad XVII distinctionem ad mentem Platonis* by Daniela Gionta.

life and which, with few exceptions, are completely lost to us.⁵ As far as the "unpublished Giles" is concerned, Father Martin has proved that most of the unpublished authentic writings of Giles once thought to be lost are probably either ghosts or minor pieces.⁶ We possess in manuscript or in modern editions nearly all of the known "unpublished Giles." The one notable exception to this generalization is the Italian fable *Cyminia*, which Giles mentions in a letter of 2 July 1504 as having been written four years earlier,⁷ but which we no longer have.⁸

However, as is true in the case of many important figures, a number of dubious and even apocryphal texts have been attributed to Giles. Among the dubious texts, Father Martin lists a *Liber dialogorum*.⁹ Neither Giles nor any contemporary ever referred to a work with such a title, but in 1581 Iosephus Pamphilus (Giuseppe Pánfilo) quoted its *incipit* ("En ad te, princeps praesulque humanissime") in his *Chronicon ordinis fratrum eremitarum sancti Augustini*.¹⁰ Therefore a manuscript of the work once existed, though we cannot verify Pamphilus's ascription of it to Giles.¹¹ In MS V F 14 of the Biblioteca nazionale "Vittorio Emanuele III" in Naples (henceforth called N) I have encountered a text that might well be a fragment of the lost *Liber dialogorum*. But even if it is not, it is definitely an unpublished work of Giles of Viterbo.

N is a complex sixteenth-century miscellany written in many different hands and consisting of texts that date from the early and middle parts of the sixteenth century.¹² These texts suggest that N once belonged to an Augustinian monastery.¹³ Kristeller first reported it in 1963 in his *Iter Italicum*.¹⁴ Since then various studies on Giles have noted that it preserves letters of Giles.¹⁵ The letters are, in the main, autograph, and form part of the first set of fascicles, containing, inter alia, autograph diary entries,

⁵I make this point also in "Sermons" (n. 4 above) 137–138.

⁶Martin, "The Writings" (n. 2 above) 181–187 ("[Writings] Attributed to Giles: Doubtful" and "Attributed to Giles: Duplicated Titles").

⁷Writing to Antonio Zoccoli, just before taking up residence on Monte Cimino, he remarked: "Quod montanum nobis collaturum sit coelum ignoramus. Sunt anni ferme quatuor quum Cyminiam edidimus fabellam sermone vulgi conscriptam." (G. Signorelli, *Il Cardinale Egidio da Viterbo, agostiniano, umanista e riformatore, 1469–1532* [Florence 1929], 220).

⁸Martin, "The Writings" (n. 2 above) 175, item 25; see also 180–181, items 35 and 36.

⁹*Ibid.* 181–182, item 38.

¹⁰Published in Rome; see fol. 110v: "Multa et varia scripsit Egidius. Quae vero evolvi et ex parte legi sunt: . . . Liber dialogorum, qui sic incipit: En ad te, princeps presulque humanissime." I wish to thank the Augustinian Historical Institute, Villanova University, for supplying me with a photocopy of this section of Pamphilus.

¹¹P. Elssius, *Encomasticon augustinianum* (Brussels 1654) 14, quoted the first four words of the *incipit*; J. F. Ossinger, *Bibliotheca augustiniana* (Ingolstadt and Augsburg 1768) 199, simply cited the title; and D. A. Perini, *Bibliografia augustiniana*, 4 vols. in 2 (Florence 1929–1938) 1.184. no. 30, repeated the title from Elssius.

¹²See the description at the start of the appendix. N contains a number of unpublished and seemingly unknown texts, the study of which would prove rewarding.

¹³The strong Augustinian character of the manuscripts should be clear from the description. N probably came from San Giovanni a Carbonara though it is not cited by D. Gutiérrez, "La biblioteca di San Giovanni a Carbonara a Napoli," *Analecta augustiniana* 29 (1966) 59–212; cf. his "Appendice" (186–198), where he lists 254 manuscripts from San Giovanni presently in the Biblioteca nazionale of Naples which are not listed in the inventories he edited.

¹⁴See the bibliography at the start of the description in the appendix below.

¹⁵*Ibid.*

a fragment of a Volgare sermon transcribed by Giles's assistant Niccolò Scutelli,¹⁶ and, on folios 19r–23v, the autograph fragment under discussion.

The fragment is defective at the beginning and probably at the end. That its hand is Giles's is obvious (see figs. 1 and 2).¹⁷ That the text is Giles's own and not someone else's is equally obvious from its many cancellations, corrections, and additions. What is not as certain is the identity of the text. The fragment begins with a dialogue at an unspecified place (in fact, Siponto [modern Manfredonia] at the base of Monte Gargano) between an unnamed bishop (in fact, San Lorenzo Maiorano) and Michael the Archangel. The dialogue is marked at the start as number "18," and has the title "Presul divum nuntium videt atque archana divinorum scitatur [sic]." Subsequent parts of the fragment are marked 19, 20, and 21 respectively. Each of these subdivisions, which I label chapters, has its own title.¹⁸ The four chapters are of very unequal lengths. The longest (chap. 21) is more than six times the size of the shortest (chap. 20).¹⁹ Chapters 19–21 continue the discussion between the bishop and Michael, although most of the time Michael carries on a monologue. Also, the first third of chapter 21 is actually a dialogue between various angels which Michael reports to the bishop. In short, our fragment consists of a series of dialogues, each with its own topic, chapter number, and title. Its structure therefore corresponds well with a work called *Liber dialogorum*.

I raise the possibility of this identification rather than assert it because of the problems that attach to it. The first is that the *incipit* as given by Pamphilus ("En, princeps et praesul humanissime") is that of a preface to an ecclesiastical prince, that is, either a bishop or head of a religious organization who was at the same time the ruler of a territorial state.²⁰ But I have not been able to find in the literature on Giles a plausible candidate for such a dedicatee. Moreover, since Giles published very few of his writings, it would be surprising if he dedicated a work to a non-Italian, probably German, prelate whom he happened to meet in Italy or while on legation to the imperial

¹⁶See the description.

¹⁷Cf. the plate of Giles's hand in his *Scechina e libellus de litteris Hebraicis*, ed. F. Secret, 2 vols. (Rome 1959), and the plates in V. Cilento, "Glosse di Egidio da Viterbo alla traduzione ficiniana delle *Enneadi* in un'incunabulo del 1492," *Studi di bibliografia e storia in onore di Tammaro de Marinis*, 4 vols. (Verona 1964) 1.281–295. A later hand repeated some of the text in the margins of N where it had been or was about to be excised by the binder; but this hand had nothing to do with the composition of the text. Also, Niccolò Scutelli added a cabalistic comment in the margin of fol. 21v.

¹⁸For ease of reference I have further divided each chapter into numbered sections.

¹⁹Chap. 18 runs about 400 words; chap. 19, about 600 words; chap. 20, which is defective at the end because a line at the bottom of the page has been excised, about 350 words; and chap. 21, which stops in mid-sentence, about 2200 words.

²⁰To take an example, the formula of address quoted by Pamphilus is identical with that used by Erasmus and Luther when addressing Cardinal Albert of Brandenburg, Archbishop of Mainz, except that they put the ecclesiastical title first, whereas in Pamphilus's quotation it is second, which is strange given Giles's religious priorities; cf. Desiderius Erasmus, *Opus epistolarum*, ed. P. S. Allen, H. M. Allen, and H. W. Garrod, 12 vols. (Oxford 1906–1958) 3.176.2 ("praesul et idem princeps illustrissime"), 3.596.1 ("domine princepsque clarissime"), 4.99.1 ("praesul et idem illustrissime princeps"), 4.260.1 and 4.361.1 ("domine ac princeps"); and Martin Luther, *Briefwechsel* 1 (Weimar 1930) 110.2 ("reverendissime in Christo pater princeps illustrissime"), 1.112.53 ("praesul et illustriss(ime) princeps"), 2 (1931) 29.60 ("pater et illustrissime princeps"), 3 (1933) 547.4–5 ("Vater durchleuchtigster, hochgeborner Fürst"), and less clearly, 3.244.4 ("Hochwürdigster in Gott, durchleuchtigster, hochgeborner Fürst"); but Luther could drop the ecclesiastical title; cf. his *Werke* 19 (Weimar 1908) 408.5–6 ("Durchleuchtigster, hochgeborner Fürst").

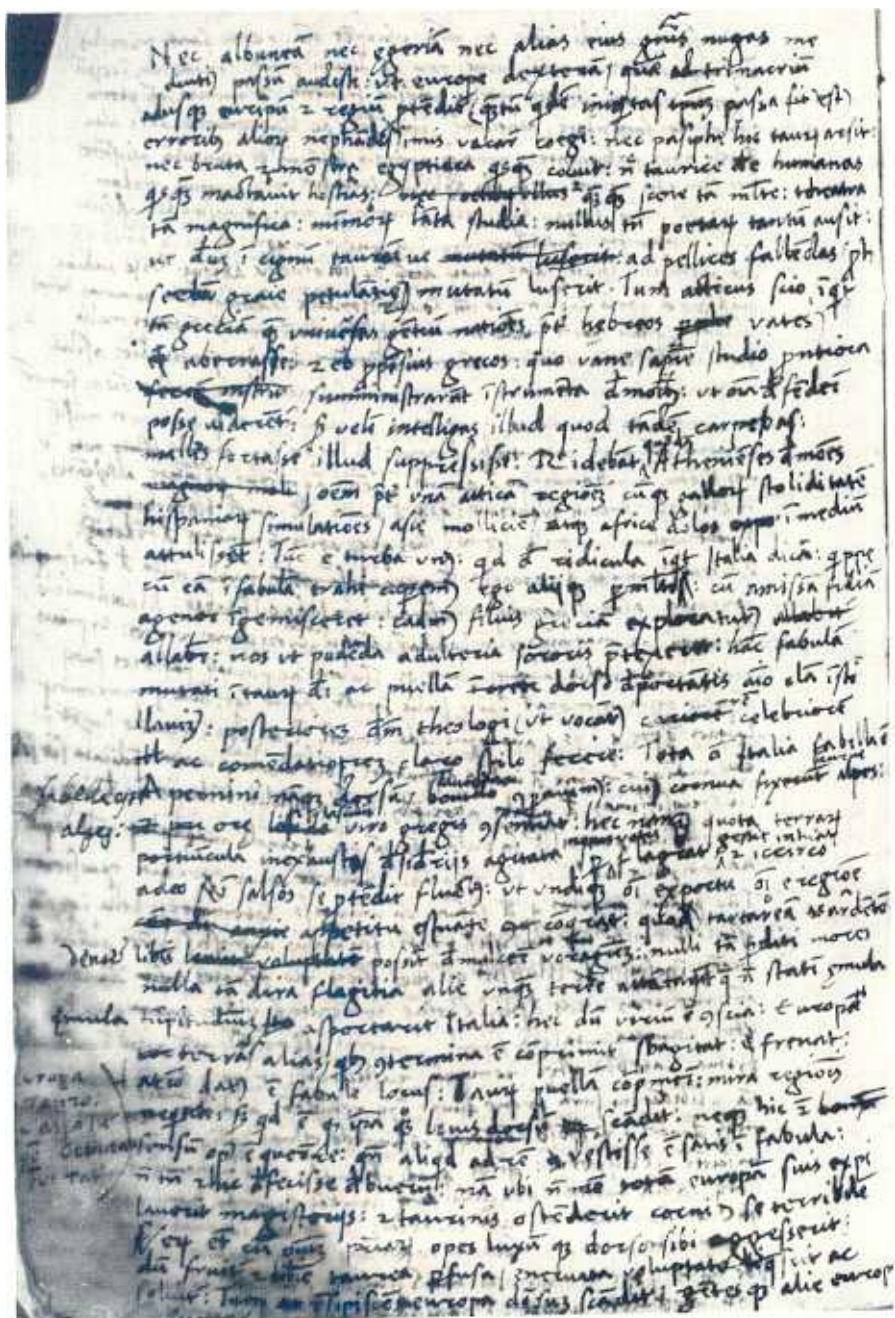


FIG. 2 Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale "Vittorio Emanuele III," cod. V F 14, fol. 21v.

court in the winter of 1515–1516.²¹ This argument militates against the *Liber dialogorum* being Giles's work, let alone the text of which our fragment is a part. There is also the problem of explaining the condition of our text in N if the *Liber dialogorum* existed in a complete or nearly complete form with a preface in another manuscript (see *infra*). So even though our fragment could aptly be part of the lost *Liber dialogorum*, it may very well belong to another, otherwise unknown work of Giles.

The beginning of the fragment in N throws light on the text of which it was once part. Since the first chapter of the fragment is numbered "18," we have lost the first seventeen chapters in addition to any preface. However, as we shall see shortly, chapter 18 does not begin *in mediis rebus*. Rather, it inaugurates a narrative that is complete in itself and requires no knowledge of the earlier chapters. Therefore, chapter 17 must have been the *terminus* of another part of the main text. We have no way of knowing what made up these earlier chapters, but the fact that chapter 18 is, in a sense, a new beginning probably explains why our fragment starts at this point and why these particular folios were kept together.

As for the ending, we cannot be sure that Giles ever wrote anything beyond what we possess. On folio 23v, at the point where our text stops, Giles's assistant Niccolò Scutelli began the transcription of a Volgare sermon that Giles delivered at Viterbo in 1527.²² By that date, Giles obviously had no intention of continuing the fragment in N. Perhaps the ending in N is the ending Giles intended *tout court*. I doubt this because the ending of the text in N gives no sense of closure. Alternatively, we may suppose that the ending in N is the unintended ending, that is, Giles stopped writing at this point simply because this is as far as he got in the project. Finally, Giles may have possessed another, more complete copy of the main text where the text runs beyond what we have in N. This last alternative sits well with the thesis that our fragment was part of a *Liber dialogorum*, a more complete manuscript of which included the preface quoted by Pamphilus. However, then one may wonder why the patently defective draft in N was not only not destroyed, but even modestly annotated by Scutelli.²³

We shall discuss the date and context of the fragment after we have studied its content.

In some ways the fragment is a Christian *Pimander*. Marsilio Ficino translated the *Pimander* (*Pimandros*) in 1463, attributing it to the mythical Hermes Trismegistus.²⁴ Ficino, of course, did not view the *Pimander* as an apocryphal Gnostic text of the second or third century A.D.,²⁵ but rather as a prime document in the *theologia prisca*, the pagan theological tradition supposedly begun by Hermes Trismegistus in Egypt about the time of Moses and elaborated by Plato, which anticipated many of the mysteries of Christianity.²⁶ Ficino's translation quickly became a renaissance best

²¹There were only two ecclesiastical princes besides the pope in what is today Italy; one was the patriarch of Aquileia, whom Giles surely would have addressed as *patriarcha*; the other was the bishop of Trent, who was a prince of the Holy Roman Empire. In Giles's lifetime all the bishops of Trent were German.

²²See my "Sermons" (n. 4 above) 142–145.

²³See the end of n. 17 above.

²⁴The title comes from the first of the fourteen treatises making up the corpus translated by Ficino; see P. O. Kristeller, *Supplementum ficinianum*, 2 vols. (Florence 1937; repr. 1973), 1.CXXIX–CXXX.

²⁵For a summary of the debate on dating see E. M. Yamauchi, *Pre-Christian Gnosticism: A Survey of the Proposed Evidence* (Grand Rapids, Mich. 1973) 69–72.

²⁶See his preface in *Opera omnia*, 2 vols., "Con una lettera introduttiva di Paulo Oskar Kristeller e una

seller.²⁷ Along with the *Asclepius* attributed to Apuleius and the *Definitiones* translated by Ludovicus Lazarellus, the *Pimander* constituted the chief proof text of renaissance Hermeticism.²⁸ Because he was a Platonist and an admirer of Marsilio Ficino, it was almost *de rigueur* that Giles would embrace the notion of the *theologia prisca*.²⁹ What is especially significant about our fragment is that while seeming to mimic the format of the *Pimander* and while explicitly accepting the truth of the *theologia prisca*, Giles also showed himself uncomfortable with the notion that Hermes anticipated Christian mysteries. Indeed, in the fragment Giles called Hermes Trismegistus the disciple of "the most deceitful of almost all the demons."

The fragment opens (chap. 18) in a way very reminiscent of the hermetic *Pimander*, that is, a human suddenly is visited by a celestial being, who upon the request of the human begins to explain divine mysteries (hence the title: "A bishop sees a divine messenger and inquires after the secrets [*archana*] of divine matters [or, divine beings]"). Scripture and Christian literature of course abound with angelic *visiones* and *somnia*. But when an ardent renaissance Platonist such as Giles makes his human interlocutor request, and the celestial visitor promise, divine *archana* in what turns out to be a series of dialogues, it is hard not to suppose that he was thinking of the *Pimander* as a literary model. In the Gnostic work, *Pimander* claimed to be "the Mind of the Supreme Power." Giles could not use a pagan deity nor could he substitute Jesus Christ lest he be charged with counterfeiting a new gospel. The fact that he did not substitute some human saint, as Petrarch did in his *Secretum*, or the personification of some faculty or discipline, as Boethius did in his *Consolatio philosophiae*, suggests that he consciously sought to recreate the oracular, "hermetic" quality of the *Pimander*. A human saint or an anthropomorphic fiction simply would have drained the tale of this atmosphere. So the Archangel served Giles's purposes well. Later on in the fragment, Giles cited the passage in Daniel which was the biblical *locus classicus* for the theory of guardian angels (chap. 21. §4). Angels substituted not only for the demons of Giles's neoplatonic and hermetic sources, but also for the gods of these and other pagan sources. Giles cited Saint Paul and the Psalms in support of this interpretation of angels as "gods" (chap. 21. §18 ad fin.). In addition to Michael, Giles brought into his tale Lucifer (chap. 19. §2), the guardian angels of various nations who participate in a conversation in the Mamertine prison, and the guardian angels of the mountains of Posillipo,

premesse di Mario Sancierpiano" (Turin 1962, which reprints the Basel 1576 ed.) 2.1836; and P. O. Kristeller, *Il pensiero filosofico di Marsilio Ficino*, rev. ed. (Florence 1988) 16–20; R. Marcel, *Marsile Ficin (1433–1499)* (Paris 1958) 636–637; D. P. Walker, *The Ancient Theology* (London 1972) 10–21; and F. A. Yates, *Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition* (London 1964) 20–43.

²⁷See Kristeller (n. 24 above) I.LVII–LVIII, CXXX; idem, *Marsilio Ficino and His Work after Five Hundred Years* (Florence 1987) 112–113 (this is a revised version of the article of the same title in *Marsilio Ficino e il ritorno di Platone. Studi e documenti*, ed. G. C. Garfagnini (Florence 1986) 15–196); and K. H. Dannenfeldt, "Hermetica philosophica," in *Catalogus translationum et commentariorum: Mediaeval and Renaissance Latin Translations and Commentaries* 1, ed. P. O. Kristeller (Washington, D.C. 1960) 137–151, at 138–140.

²⁸In addition to the literature cited in n. 27, see also P. O. Kristeller, *Studies in Renaissance Thought and Letters* (Rome 1956), 221–257; idem, "Lodovico Lazzarelli e Giovanni da Correggio, due ermetici del Quattrocento . . ." in *Biblioteca degli Ardenti di Viterbo. Studi e ricerche nel 150° della fondazione*, ed. A. Pepponi (Viterbo 1960) 13–37.

²⁹See O'Malley (n. 1 above) 31–32, 55–56, 102.

Vesuvius, and Cimino, who are treated in this instance almost in the pagan sense of *genii loci* (chap. 19. §6).³⁰

In chapter 18, the Archangel Michael appears before a saintly bishop (*praesul*) officiating at "sacred ceremonies," and asks for "temples and altars" to be erected in his honor atop Monte Gargano; later, while asleep in his room, the bishop has a second vision of Michael, in the course of which the bishop asks to be enlightened about divine matters so that he can answer the many questions that will be put to him; Michael agrees because the bishop's land is suffused with the errors of the pagans and it is therefore fitting that the people be convinced of Christian truth by the testimony of the pagans.

Giles's source for the setting, but not the content, of the vision was the Puglian tradition concerning the apparition of the Archangel Michael. Our fullest medieval source for the tradition is the *Liber de apparitione sancti Michaelis in Monte Gargano*.³¹ Giles may very well have read this text, but he would have known the story in any case from his breviary, which gives an abbreviated version of the story in the office for 8 May. In fact, some of his wording suggests that he had the breviary's account in mind when he wrote the fragment.³² He could have known the story from other sources as well, including the *Legenda aurea*.³³ According to the tradition, after a bowman on Monte Gargano was pierced by the very arrow which he had shot at a bull, but which turned around in midair (a miracle which Giles also mentions), the stupefied citizens of Siponto consulted their bishop (S. Lorenzo Maiorano, d. c. 546). He, in turn, after ordering a three-day fast, received a vision of Michael the Archangel, who explained that a shrine should be built on Monte Gargano. Michael subsequently visited the bishop twice again in nocturnal visions, first to explain what the Sipontans should do in a battle against pagans and then to order that mass be said inside the grotto where the bull had been found.

In the fragment, Giles reports only two apparitions,³⁴ and neither has anything to do with the messages of the Puglian tradition. Rather, in Giles's telling, the purpose of Michael's apparitions was, in good hermetic fashion, to reveal divine *archana*. As we shall see, the remaining chapters of the fragment are rich in powerful images, but on the whole do not deliver the intellectual feast promised in chapter 18. Whether this failure is due to our loss of later chapters of the work or simply, in this instance, to Giles's philosophical ability not being equal to his mythopoetic talent I do not know. Nonetheless, the surviving chapters are valuable for the insight they provide on Giles's

³⁰See n. 35 below. Marc Deramaix has called to my attention that angels are mentioned in Giles's *Eclogues*, where they are termed an *agmen*. For the widespread acceptance among the church fathers of "angels set in charge of nations," see J. Daniélou, *The Angels and their Mission according to the Fathers of the Church*, trans. D. Heimann (Westminster, Md. 1957) 16–18, 68.

³¹See below appendix, chap. 18. §1, n. 1.

³²*Ibid.* n. 6.

³³For example, Giles has Michael first appear while the bishop is engaged in "sacred ceremonies" though the *Liber de apparitione*, the breviary, and the *Legenda aurea* do not say what the bishop was doing at that moment. However, in the telling of the legend by G. Tancredi, *Folclore garganico* (Manfredonia 1940) 175–177, S. Lorenzo is said to have been praying ("pregava nella chiesa di S. Maria Maggiore di Siponto"). Tancredi does not cite his source(s).

³⁴It is conceivable that Giles wrote of a third apparition in a part of the work after the point where our fragment stops.

thinking during what I believe is his early Neapolitan period. To examine what these chapters have to say, and also to help in understanding Giles's not easily decipherable Latin, we shall paraphrase each in turn, placing editorial comments and additions in brackets.

Chapter 19 has the title, "19. That divine things cannot be naturally learned." It begins with Michael noting that there are those who say that we mortals should not strive to know what is beyond the capacity of the human senses to perceive. Rather we should cultivate the [Plotinian] civic virtues, which are proper to our middling nature, without falling to the level of lower material things or ascending to the *inaccessa penetralia* of God. The examples of Lucifer (*noster olim Lucifer* to Michael), Icarus, and Bellerophon are warnings of where such temerity leads. The problem is that our minds are habituated to scrutinizing material things and cannot rise to the contemplation of "the pure simplicity of our nature" (§2 ad fin.). Trismegistus (§3) makes the same point. But Trismegistus was the disciple of Theut, "the most deceitful of almost all the demons," and he (Trismegistus) gained access to divine *archana* which were meant for others. Indeed, he himself probably did not even understand the things he wrote. In imitation of Trismegistus, Socrates used to answer that he knew only that he did not know. Socrates's student Plato said in his old age that he himself had never written on divine matters [*Ep.* 2.103c; 7.341c]. Plato, incidentally, more closely approximated Christian doctrines than any of the pagans, Greek or barbarian. But Michael does not enter into that subject because it is in the hands [of the guardian angel] of the Neapolitan Mount Posillipo,³⁵ who will soon hit upon a human for the task. Michael knows that [the guardian angel of] Posillipo has been in conversation with [the guardian angels of] Mount Cimino and Vesuvius, and from these discussions has come up with many ideas and arguments (*multa feta mente concepisce*) which, when produced, will clear up the confusion surrounding the metaphorical tower [of philosophy? of theology?] (§6).³⁶ Returning to the topic at hand, Michael notes that the Greek philosopher Ariston denied that the divine nature could be comprehended in any way. The Latin poet Virgil shrouded all his teachings in elegant but obscure verses (§8). Thus, you can use the very testimony of the pagans to show that pagans cannot attain the heights of Christian truth in this life. But that does not mean that we can grasp nothing. After all, unable to endure the light of day, the bat accepts dusk and night (§10). We need to seek higher things without insolence and superstition. Christ said "he who will have found me, will find life." What we seek is the wisdom which radiates into our minds from the Father and enlightens our thoughts. But [if the light is too bright, recall that] when the Jewish people could not look upon the unveiled visage of Moses, they observed it veiled (§11). On this hortatory note, chapter 19 comes to an end.

Chapter 19 continues the gnostic theme of revelation by the divine messenger, even

³⁵Leaving aside for later analysis the meaning of this important passage, I wish to note here that Giles has not personified Monte Posillipo as Pausylipus (or Cimino or Vesuvius) because he has Michael treat Pausylipus as a *peer* who has a responsibility for mankind in a specific sphere as well as the power of choice and the ability to converse with his own kind, i. e., other angels. These are all the characteristics of the guardian angels of earthly sites whom Giles introduces into the narrative at the start of chap. 21, where we meet Bactrianus, Italus, Afer, Cretensis, "and the shepherds [*pastores*] of other islands and provinces."

³⁶I analyze this passage at considerable length below when discussing the date of the fragment.

to the extent of incorporating the gnostic metaphor of the *gnosis* of the divine messenger awakening men from their sleep.³⁷ Pointedly, Giles's explanation why humans need this revelation applies not really to the Christian gospels, but rather to the *archana* drawn from the inspired pagans, whom Michael lists. The novelty of Giles's handling of the *theologia prisca* is his condemnation of Hermes Trismegistus as the ignorant disciple of a wicked demon. But this is a novelty only in respect to Ficino. It is less so in respect to Lactantius and Augustine, who both were gulled into believing that Hermes Trismegistus anticipated some of the Christian mysteries, but who explained away this wonder as the machinations of demons.³⁸ What Giles specifically added was the identification of Hermes Trismegistus as the disciple of the demon Theut, even though other literary sources (but not Plato)³⁹ had identified Hermes with the Egyptian god Theut. By discrediting Hermes in this fashion, Giles quieted the qualms he seems to have felt concerning the hermetic corpus while salvaging the *theologia prisca*, which was inextricably bound up with his conception of the Platonic tradition. He thus had Michael reveal pagan mysteries in a way totally imitative of Hermes Trismegistus while at the same time condemning Hermes for revealing Christian mysteries. We have no reason to suspect that Giles appreciated the irony of what he had done. As far as I can tell, Giles does not voice a similar criticism of Hermes in his other extant writings.⁴⁰

The Archangel Michael begins chapter 20 (titled, "20. The impious say that God either is ignorant or not fair or nothing") by saying that some blasphemers blame God for not taking our weakness into account. He could have given us keener minds or clearer information about himself, they say. Moreover, while he has laid out for every other creature an easily attainable goal, he has left us with one we can hardly see, and if we do see it, we can hardly achieve it. The impious, Michael continues, also try to impale God on the horns of a dilemma: if God foresaw our difficulties, he is either cruel or impotent; if he did not, then he is ignorant. [Mocking such a god], Diodorus, Diagoras, and Epicurus denied that he even exists, as Posidonius tells us in book 5 of his *De natura deorum*.⁴¹ Moreover, they espoused a libidinous code of behavior, though Epicurus differed in that he taught unrestrained licentiousness only privately and not in his public pronouncements (§6).

If Giles intended in chapter 20 to begin to convince the pagans of their errors by their own testimony, we have to assume that he wanted first to present their side of the argument. Resorting to some warmed over Cicero, he clearly allowed the pagans to have the better of the debate. His condemnation of Epicurus's morals was doubtless heartfelt, but still no substitute for a rational response. Since the next chapter takes

³⁷For an example see H. Jonas, *The Gnostic Religion: The Message of the Alien God and the Beginnings of Christianity*, ed. 2 (Boston 1963) 68–70.

³⁸See the apparatus to chap. 19, §3, in the appendix below.

³⁹As pointed out by P. Festugière, O.P., *La révélation d'Hermès Trismégiste* 1 (Paris 1950) 69; see *Phed.* 274c–275b and *Philb.* 18b–d.

⁴⁰See O'Malley (n. 1 above) 55; and cf. the references to Hermes in idem, "Fulfillment of the Christian Golden Age under Pope Julius II," 288, line 111 and 296, line 44, as well as in Giles's commentary on the *Sentences* in Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. lat. 6325, fols. 2va, 6va, 34ra, 36rb, and 40vb; and his *Historia viginti saeculorum* in Rome, Biblioteca Angelica, MS 351, fols. 313v (*olim* fol. 316v), 335v (*olim* fol. 338v).

⁴¹Giles's real source was bk. I of Cicero's work of the same title; see the apparatus to chap. 20, §4, in the appendix below.

up the issue of God's providence, one can argue that Giles planned further chapters in response to the atheists. Whether the arguments in these purported lost or planned chapters were better than those presented in chapters 20 and 21 we, of course, cannot say. Giles's message was obviously aimed at his own time, but perhaps because he had set the scene in the sixth century, he had Michael cite as his source a lost work of Posidonius instead of Giles's real source, Cicero's *De natura deorum*. Giles's response to atheism in the next chapter will also be drawn from this source. Giles's inspiration for the dilemma posed by the atheists may actually have been Saint Augustine, though the very nice formulation of the dilemma was all Giles's. In fact, Giles's presentation of the atheists' argument is more acute than the proofs of a providential God which he offers in the next chapter. Lastly, we may note that Giles's lament over man's seemingly indeterminate purpose may owe something to the opening of Giovanni Pico's celebrated oration on the dignity of man.

At the start of chapter 21 (titled "21. The sordid morals of Italy and the fable of Europa"), Michael proposes to tell the story of Europa in order to explain the hedonistic behavior behind all the sham dignity and elegance of the present age [i.e. supposedly late antiquity]. [Whence it will be obvious why] of all the guardian angels, no one is more ashamed of his responsibility than cruel and salacious Dorsus, who watches over the high ridge of the Apennines (*dorsus Apennini*). When in the time of the fifth Claudius [Nero] Saint Peter was in the [Mamertine] prison under the Tarpeian rock, the angels who were comforting him began to converse in the night while he slept. Each spoke of the glories of his own region: the Bactrian of Zoroaster, the Egyptian of Trismegistus, the African of Hannibal, Hasdrubal, and Iuba, and so on. Because he had heard Michael speaking of the Jews, to whom alone the truth concerning God had been preached, the guardian angel of Italy began to run on about consuls, tribunes, and emperors until all the angels tired of him (and he had not yet even finished the exordium!). The guardian angel of Greece then mocked the credulity of the Romans for believing whatever the Delphic oracle told them. The Italian angel retorted that at least the Italians had been preserved by him from embracing the disgraceful Greek tales about God, such as that he turned himself into a swan [i.e. the myth of Leda and the Swan] or a bull [i.e. the myth of Europe]. Next, someone challenged the guardian angel of Italy about the myth of Europa. [According to the myth, Zeus had fallen in love with the Phoenician princess Europa, daughter of King Agenor and sister of Cadmus. Zeus changed himself into a beautiful bull, enticed Europa onto his back, and then took off with her to Crete, where she bore him Minos and Rhadamanthys.]⁴² Was it not in order to hide her adulteries, said this other angel, that we fabricated this tale of Europa being carried off on the back of a bull, which afterwards "theologians" decorated with fine words? All Italy is the bull of the fable, with the Apennines as the spine (*dorsus*) and the Alps as the horns, with Italy's ports as the mouth seeking and absorbing every sort of wantonness and wickedness. The troops of the other peoples of Europe, when they saw that Italy had surrendered herself to the enervation of hedonism (this is what the tale means by her mounting the bull) swarmed—and will continue regularly (*identidem*) to swarm—over the Alps to visit all kinds of devastation upon her and, in the process, check her cruelty and debauchery (§14).

⁴²See the apparatus to chap. 21. §11 in the appendix below.

Michael interrupts the exegesis to tell the bishop that he is explaining the fable of Europa so that the bishop would learn to overcome the ingratitude of his countrymen towards God. Michael also foresees Italy laying in desolation and eventually paying the price for the evil of which she is so guilty.

Then Michael changes topics and asks how posterity can hope to mollify God if humans in their madness refuse to consider these matters seriously. Take Protagoras, for instance. The Athenians banned him and burned that book of his, which begins, "Concerning the gods I know neither whether they are nor whether they are not." But the people of Abdera treated such a statement as a joke. Worse, the impious have put their blasphemies into writing so that they might corrupt later generations. Michael promises that when the occasion presents itself, he will prove someday the existence of God and the accompanying gods whom he engendered and who serve him, as Saint Paul and David testify (§18).

But you should be aware, he tells the bishop, that the ancients have defended God and these accompanying gods with excellent testimonies, especially those who directly or indirectly learned the *archana* of Moses, such as Trismegistus, Pythagoras, and Plato. If our people were to embrace these ancients, they would be imitating that African youth and convert [i.e. St. Augustine], who was a great admirer of these philosophers.

But listen, Michael says, to the four proofs for the existence of divine providence advanced by the Stoic Cleanthes, who took them from the Platonists [Cicero is Giles's source]. The first is the power of prophesy, which all parts of the world have known. Sibyls and oracles are inspired to speak clearly about dark things which they themselves do not understand. The divine mind that inspires them must therefore foresee and direct the world. The second proof derives from the many gifts we have received from heaven, which only a beneficent God could have known to provide. The third proof is the punishment of malefactors. Because God wishes to give us every chance to mend our ways, retribution may be late and varied, but it does come. [Without giving the fourth proof,] Michael concludes that only a weak mind would not deem those who deny or hesitate about God utterly stupid (§28).

Michael next asks the bishop to contemplate the history of Rome and the five "vicissitudes" which characterize that history. First, Rome was the purely rustic site of Etruscan shepherds living in their humble huts. The names of the great Roman clans of the Fabii and the Pisones stem from the rude legumes which they were happy to eat in these early times. Then Romulus created the Romans as an organized social entity by establishing a mountain refuge for criminals, and found wives for his followers by resorting to violence and sacrilege. In the third stage, Romulus built a wall and, as an omen of the future, stained it with the blood of parricide. In the fourth vicissitude, the kings expanded Roman power. Lastly, Rome reached the worldly pinnacle of conquests, trophies, and riches. Observe how from rustic peace the Romans passed on to empire by means of fratricide, regicide, destruction of liberty, and the murder of citizens. But time has washed away all these triumphs. The mere knowledge of them survives by divine permission. Recognize that this is the discipline of a single city and not the destiny of the whole world. At this point, chapter 21 ends.

Chapter 21 encompasses the two main themes of the fragment. The first and the largest is the refutation of pagan error by the testimony of the pagans. This we have already seen in the earlier chapters. It is the reason Michael gives for what he has to tell the bishop (chap. 18. §7 ad fin. and chap. 21. §28; see also chap. 19. §9 and chap.

21. §19). As we have also seen, the most significant aspects of this theme are the negative ones. Giles constructed the dilemma for those who believe in God (chap. 20. §3) so well that he never really answered it. In response to those who argue that man does not have it in his power to grasp divine things (chap. 19. §1–2), he actually ended up agreeing with them in order to justify the *theologia prisca*. Only in condemnation of the moral turpitude of the impious (chap. 20. §5–6) was Giles not generous towards the opposition. Furthermore, what were supposed to be the foci of this theme, that is, the *theologia prisca*⁴³ and the arguments against the atheists in chapter 21 (§20–28), turn out to be watered-down Ficino and Cicero.

The other main theme of the fragment is the destiny of Rome as seen in the myth of Europa and in the five stages of Roman history sketched at the end of chapter 21. Giles's fascination with Rome was lifelong;⁴⁴ and his condemnation, inspired by Orosius and Augustine,⁴⁵ of the violence by which Rome achieved power was not confined to this fragment.⁴⁶ His five-part scheme, however, does seem novel. As far as I can tell, it was not incorporated into his later *Historia viginti saeculorum*. Mercifully, the only indication Giles gives in the fragment of his notoriously credulous belief in the forgeries of Annio of Viterbo is the brief reference to the Etruscan shepherds who supposedly once occupied the site of Rome in the first stage of Roman history (chap. 21. §29).

The Europa myth is interesting for several reasons. For one, Giles created a fresh euhemerism, namely, that the myth was meant to hide the adulteries of a historically real Phoenician princess named Europa (chap. 21. §11).⁴⁷ In telling the myth, Giles also sneaked in some current jibes about national vices (*ibid.*). More importantly, the myth provided Giles with his best vehicle for indirectly attacking contemporary Italian immorality. His assimilation of the Apennines, "the spine of Italy," to the back of the bull allowed him a most elegant and vivid way of denouncing the moral condition of Italy. Giles's disgust overwhelms the reader at this point. The myth also allowed him to insinuate divine retribution as the cause of the barbarian invasions of Italy.

The myth of Europa is, of course, pagan. But so is virtually all the substantive material of the fragment: from the *theologia prisca* and the arguments for and against divine providence to the stories of Roman origins. Giles clearly was attempting to place pagan doctrines in a Christian context and to utilize pagan images for Christian purposes. The hermetic form into which he cast the fragment doubtless was part of his rhetorical strategy. What is peculiar and striking about this strategy is that Giles had his divine messenger reveal exclusively pagan *archana*, most of which, such as the material taken from Cicero, the myth of Europa, and the stages of Roman history, were not at all *archana* by the definition of renaissance neoplatonists. Perhaps in other, no

⁴³See chap. 19. §4–5 and chap. 21. §19.

⁴⁴See O'Malley (n. 1 above) 121–138; and *idem*, "Man's Dignity, God's Love, and the Destiny of Rome: A Text of Giles of Viterbo," *Viator* 3 (1972) 389–416 *passim*.

⁴⁵See the apparatus to chap. 21. §32 in the appendix below.

⁴⁶See O'Malley (n. 1 above) 123.

⁴⁷On the treatment of the myth of Europa in the art and literature of the Renaissance see L. Barkan, *The Gods Made Flesh: Metamorphosis & the Pursuit of Paganism* (New Haven 1986) *ad indicem*, whose discussion is distant from the concerns of Giles. If Giles read Poliziano's description of Europa (*Stanze* 1.105–106), he did not echo it. There is no way to prove or disprove the possibility that Giles had a contemporary painting of Europa in mind.

longer extant parts of the work, Giles dealt substantially with Christian doctrines and imposed coherence on the apparently unrelated aspects of his text. But I doubt it. I would therefore suggest that the *Liber dialogorum* or whatever work of which our fragment is part was a rather ill-organized jotting down of themes and techniques which Giles never succeeded in bringing into effective harmony with each other and with his purpose. Certainly, the fragment never fulfilled the tacit promise of its initial chapter, which was to give contemporary intellectuals a Christian text which could compete in attractiveness and interest with the original hermetic texts. Nonetheless, the most important aspect of the fragment is the fact that he even tried to create a Christian *Pimander*.

The question remains: When and where did he do this? We can say for sure that Giles did not write the fragment before the spring of 1499 when he first took up residence in Naples, or, to be more precise, on Posillipo, the volcanic ridge overlooking the bay about six kilometers from Naples, where the Augustinian monastery of Santa Maria della Consolazione was located,⁴⁸ and where Giles lived while at Naples.⁴⁹ His references in the fragment to Vesuvius and especially to Posillipo, require us to suppose that Giles was familiar with these sites when he wrote the fragment.

It is also significant for the fragment's connection to southern Italy that Giles made Siponto at the base of Monte Gargano in Puglia the setting for the dialogue between the bishop and the Archangel Michael. Giles traveled to Puglia in the late spring of 1501 at the request of King Federico of Naples.⁵⁰ On the trip he may have visited Siponto and even the shrine to the Archangel Michael on Monte Gargano. But whether he did so or not, as we have seen, he would have known the story of San Lorenzo Maiorano and the Archangel Michael from his breviary.

Before determining a *terminus ante quem*, we need to be aware at least in outline of Giles's movements after he settled in southern Italy. About June 1501, while still in Puglia, Giles was called to Rome.⁵¹ He did not return to Naples until September 1501. But he stayed only a short time, leaving for Rome by late November 1501, whence he began a series of moves to different cities in central and northern Italy. In April 1503 he joined the Augustinian congregation of Lecceto near Siena. In the summer of 1504, he began what seems to have been the first of his many extended stays

⁴⁸This monastery was founded in 1491 according to J. Lanteri, "Additamenta ad Crusenii *Augustinianum Monasticon*," *Revista agustiniana*, vols. 1–13 (1881–1893) passim at 7 (1887) 37; idem, in Nicolaus Crusenius, *Pars tertia monastici agustiniani* ("Vallisoleti" 1890) 540, where he cites T. Herrara, *Alphabeticum agustinianum* (Madrid 1644) as his source for the year 1491 and also speaks of the building activity of Eleonora Sanseverino ca. 1530 (see *infra*); cf. also the index of the houses of the Augustinian order prepared for Girolamo Seripando about 1540 in *Analecta agustiniana* 6 (1915) 17–23, 40–48, and 67–72, at 40, which does not give the name or date of foundation of the monastery.

⁴⁹See F. X. Martin, "Giles of Viterbo and the Monastery of Lecceto: The Making of a Reformer," *Analecta agustiniana* 25 (1962) 225–253, at 232; Signorelli (n. 7 above) 8; and Giles's letter to Nicolò Mannio (E. Martène and U. Durand, *Veterum scriptorum et monumentorum historicorum, dogmaticorum moralium amplissima collectio* 3 [Paris 1724] 1250; and Signorelli [n. 7 above] 217, from Martène and Durand): "Conscendo Pausilipum, vaco biennium deo."

⁵⁰Martin (n. 49 above) 233; Signorelli (n. 7 above) 9; and the continuation of the same letter to Mannio cited in n. 49 above: "Ipse testis esto qua ratione, quam sancte, quam pie mittor in Apuliam a Frederico rege, a quo mihi plus est semper tributum quam mortali fas sit a mortali."

⁵¹For this date and the other dates in the paragraph I rely especially on Martin (n. 49 above) 233, 243; see also Signorelli (n. 7 above) 10ff.; and the chronology of his peregrinations which Giles outlined in his letter to Mannio, cited in n. 49 above.

at the hermitage atop Monte Cimino. In 1506, Julius II made him vicar general, and then, in 1507, prior general of the Augustinian order. Thus from mid-1506 his official residence became Rome, though he continued to travel widely in northern and southern Italy and even went on legations to northern Europe (1515–1516) and Spain (1518). Pope Leo X made him a cardinal in 1517, and Pope Clement VII, bishop of Viterbo and Tuscania in 1523. Giles died in 1532.

The only passage in the fragment that can be related to any of these peregrinations is the prophecy in chapter 19. §6. After making the point that Plato's doctrines were most consonant with Christianity, Michael the Archangel continues, and I translate:

But the Parthenopean Posillipo has seized this province for himself. As soon as possible, on his own accord, he will have met up with someone of the mortals. I know that from very frequent discussions with Cimino and Vesuvius he has conceived many offspring. When he brings them forth, he will make fair the sky about the cloud-shrouded tower.

Every reference in the passage is obscure and therefore open to dispute. As we have seen, Giles is speaking here of the guardian angels of Posillipo, Vesuvius, and Cimino rather than of the mountains themselves. But why is the conciliation of Plato with Christianity proper to Posillipo? And who is this "mortal" chosen for the task? It seems to me that there are only three possible answers to these questions.

The first is that Giles wrote the fragment quite early, that is, either in 1499–1501, when resident on Posillipo, or, less probably, in the next year and a half, up to April 1503, when he joined the Congregation of Lecceto and could no longer plan to reestablish himself on Posillipo. In other words, Giles himself is the "mortal" destined for the noble task, and it was at this time that he first began to think of writing a commentary on Peter Lombard's *Sentences* "according to the mind of Plato" (*ad mentem Platonis*). The passage tells us that the *feta* had been conceived, but not yet "brought forth." I am not sure what other works Giles had in mind, but in respect to the commentary on the *Sentences*, this reading would agree with Eugenio Massa's dating of the first part of the commentary to 1504–1506.⁵² "Vesuvius," I would conjecture, refers to the Neapolitan circle of humanists led by Giovanni Pontano, with whom Giles had come into contact during his years in Naples,⁵³ and "Cimino" to Tuscan culture in general, and Platonism in particular, represented especially by the recently deceased Marsilio Ficino, whom Giles knew personally.⁵⁴ Mountains in general fired Giles's imagination.⁵⁵ So it is not surprising that he chose Vesuvius to represent Naples rather than any of the less grand, but closer heights surmounting Naples. The fact that Giles

⁵²E. Massa, "L'anima e l'uomo in Egidio da Viterbo e nelle fonti classiche e medioevali," *Archivio di Filosofia* 20 (1951) 37–138, at 37: "Nel primo periodo Egidio era ancora fresco dell'esperienza letteraria di Napoli come delle dispute scolastiche di Padova e Roma e scriveva sul Cimino, come risulta dalle frequenti allusioni al monte e alla vita montana." Massa's revised version of this study lacks this precise chronological information: *I fondamenti metafisici della "dignitas hominis" e testi inediti di Egidio da Viterbo* (Turin 1954) (first published in *Salesianum* 16 [1954] 293–338, 524–585, where I consulted it).

⁵³For Giles's relations with Neapolitan humanism see Signorelli (n. 7 above) 9; F. Fiorentino, "Egidio da Viterbo ed i Pontaniani di Napoli," *Archivio storico per le provincie napoletane* 9 (1884) 430–452, reprinted with corrections in posthumous *Il risorgimento filosofico nel Quattrocento* (Naples 1885) 251–274, from which I will quote; and the other bibliography cited by Martin (n. 49 above) 233 n. 38.

⁵⁴See Martin (n. 49 above) 227–228; O'Malley (n. 1 above) 49–55 and passim; and Giles's letter to Ficino in Martène and Durand (n. 49 above) 1250–1252; Kristeller (n. 24 above) 2.314–316.

⁵⁵For instance, in a letter, he apostrophized Rome not only in the form "Audite, Romani," but also

did not live on Monte Cimino until 1514 does not matter since in this interpretation Monte Cimino was a symbol not of Giles's residence (Posillipo enjoyed that status), but rather of a cultural area. The Italian novel *Cyminia* proves that Monte Cimino loomed large in Giles's creative imagination in 1500 while he was resident on Posillipo.⁵⁶ Moreover, there could be no question of a residency atop Vesuvius. So why should we assume such a connotation for Monte Cimino, which was Vesuvius's correlative in the passage? Finally, the image of the "cloud-shrouded tower," I would suggest, is theology or philosophico-theological culture darkened at the moment by secular Aristotelianism, which, in this interpretation, would be the *nebulae* of Giles's image.⁵⁷

I myself prefer the preceding interpretation. Since Giles made trips to Rome and Viterbo while resident at Posillipo, it is conceivable that he met a northern ecclesiastical prince in 1499–1501.⁵⁸ So if the lost *Liber dialogorum* is his, he could have written the preface in these years as well as some time thereafter. But before determining the question, we have to examine the alternatives.

The second possible answer is that though Giles was referring to himself in the prophecy, he wrote the fragment sometime between 1503 and his elevation to the purple in 1517. A date later than 1517 would not work because by then Giles had already lost interest in the commentary on the *Sentences*⁵⁹ and was much engrossed in the Cabala and Hebrew lore, of which our fragment is totally innocent.⁶⁰ This answer requires us to believe that Giles planned to reestablish himself on Posillipo after 1503. What lends

in the form "Audite, colles septem" and "Mea es, mea, o septimontia Roma! Salve, o felix sponsa! Salve, Tarpeia rupes! Saluete, colles sacri! Salve, Auentine!" (O'Malley [n. 44 above] 411, line 465, and 413, lines 510–511). Giles's coat of arms as a cardinal is a scheme of three hills surmounted by crosses representing the three hills of the Observant Augustinian monastery of Lecceto (see J. Wittaker, "Greek Manuscripts from the Library of Giles of Viterbo at the Biblioteca Angelica," *Scriptorium* 31 [1977] 212–239, at 214). Anyone who has worked with Giles's manuscripts can attest to his propensity for using this symbol to mark important passages (*ibid.*).

⁵⁶See n. 8 above.

⁵⁷For his attitude towards what he perceived as the anti-Christian trend of contemporary Italian Aristotelianism see O'Malley (n. 1 above) 40–49 and *ad indicem* under "Paduan Peripatetics." Marc Deramiaux wonders if in writing *turris nebulosa* Giles had in mind the *turris fortissima nomen domini* of Prov. 18.10.

⁵⁸See Signorelli (n. 7 above) 8.

⁵⁹Massa, "L'anima e l'uomo in Egidio da Viterbo" (n. 52 above) 37; and "I fondamenti metafisici della 'dignitas hominis'" (n. 52 above) 294.

⁶⁰The cabalistic comment of Scutelli at chap. 21. §13 is clearly a later addition and not integral to the fragment (see n. 17 above). Giles was studying Hebrew as early as 1504 (F. X. Martin, "Giles of Viterbo as Scripture Scholar," in *Egidio da Viterbo, O.S.A. e il suo tempo* [n. 2 above] 191–222, at 204); but his first cabalistic work was the *De litteris Hebraicis* of 1517 (Martin, "The Writings" [n. 2 above] 161, no. 10). Moreover, as Anna Maria Voci-Roth pointed out to me, he gave no hint of this study in his writings of the prior decade; see Giles's long oration edited by J. W. O'Malley, "Fulfillment of the Christian Golden Age under Pope Julius II: Text of a Discourse of Giles of Viterbo, 1507," *Traditio* 25 (1969) 265–338 (reproduced in *idem, Rome and the Renaissance: Studies in Culture and Religion* [London 1981]); his long doctrinal letter edited by *idem*, "Man's Dignity, God's Love," (n. 44 above) (reproduced in *idem, Rome and the Renaissance*), which O'Malley dates to 1503–1508 and Voci-Roth to ca. 1511 (*Rivista di storia della chiesa in Italia* 37 [1983] 556–557); his celebrated reform oration of 1512, ed. Claire O'Reilly, "'Without Councils we cannot be saved . . .': Giles of Viterbo addresses the Fifth Lateran Council," *Augustiniana* 27 (1977) 166–204; his other published oration that same year, ed. *idem*, "'Maximus Caesar et Pontifex Maximus': Giles of Viterbo Proclaims the Alliance between Emperor Maximilian I and Pope Julius II," *Augustiniana* 22 (1972) 80–117; and his incomplete commentary on Peter Lombard's *Sentences* (1504–ca. 1512), where I have noticed some Hebrew only in the second half (e.g., fol. 135v of Vatican, Vat. lat. 6325).

comfort to this idea is a passage from Giles's *Historia viginti saeculorum*, written in the pontificate of Leo X (1513–1521). Speaking about the manuscripts of the Greek monasteries of Calabria, Giles records that:

Bernardo Sanseverino, prince of Bisignano, ordered that an index be drawn up and transmitted to me for a number [of books] far larger than anyone had supposed. Eleonora, the prince's wife, a most bright light of the female sex [and] the niece of the most holy Pontiff Pius III, lest she recede from the spirit and mind of her ancestors [and] in order that she might provide not only a plethora of books to be read, but also the leisure [to read them], began to build for me on the Neapolitan mountain Posillipo an edifice . . .⁶¹

Princess Eleonora died in 1511;⁶² Prince Bernardino, probably sometime earlier.⁶³ They clearly were both much attached to Giles. The passage also confirms Giles's own

⁶¹The passage is also interesting for Giles's discussion of Greek manuscripts. For this reason, I give much more of the text than translated above. I thank for their kindness Concetta Bianca who sent me a transcription of the whole passage after I realized that I had transcribed too little of the passage from Rome, Biblioteca Angelica, MS 351, fols. 138v–139r (*olim* 141v–142r), and Marc Deramaix, who put at my disposal a collation of the middle section ("Bernardinus . . . studiosorum) from Biblioteca Angelica MS 502, fol. 127r (Lanteri also refers to this passage; see n. 48 above) "Stephanus pontifex ["X," 1057–1058] oraculo locum dedit qui nunquam destitit donec resistentem Romanae auctoritati parere coegit. Robertus Guiscardi glorie stimulis et victoriae splendore incensus, ut sub Victore ["II," 1054–1057] e Campania barbaros, ita sub Stephano e Calabria Grecos abigit. Templorum tantum custodibus relictis, horum vestigia nostram usque etatem visuntur. Acervi Grecorum librorum, qui usque in tecta surgunt, Bernardinus Sanseverinus, Bisiniani [Bissiniani MS 351] princeps, indicem [indice MS 501] scribi iussit atque ad me transmisit numero longe quam ullus crediderit maiore [maiori MS 501]. Uxor principis, Helionora, clarissimum feminei sexus lumen, Pii III sanctissimi pontificis neptis, ne a maiorum suorum animo atque ingenio declinaret, quo evolvendorum librorum non copiam [copia MS 351] modo, sed ocium quoque daret, edificium mihi in Pausilypo, Neapolis monte, cepit struere tanta religione ac pietate ut zonam, quam sanctimonie et /fol. 139r/ religionis studio voluerat erigi, non clama, non suboscure, sed pileo intextam auro, omnibus spectandam daret, affirmans eum iudicandum sapienterem quem viderimus pietatis studiosiorem. Que nisi, dum hec molitur, interiisset, magnum librorum numerum ad Grecam bibliothecam tuam afferre potuisset cum praecipue magni animi femina audisset te [Pope Leo X] libros colligere, quos non tanquam in tenebris sepelires, sed studiosis comunes esse velles."

⁶²Even in death she demonstrated her affection for the Augustinians by having her funeral celebrated at their church of San Giovanni a Carbonara in Naples; see *I diarii di Marino Sanuto*, 58 vols. (Venice 1879–1902) 13.204, from a report dated Naples, 18 October 1511. Eleonora was the daughter of Antonio Piccolomini-Todeschini, and therefore, as Giles says, the niece of Pope Pius III (Francesco Piccolomini-Todeschini, brother of Antonio). Concerning her see C. Ugurgieri della Berardenga, *Pio II Piccolomini con notizie su Pio III e altri membri della famiglia* (Florence 1973) 534–536; and E. Pontieri, *Per la storia del regno di Ferrante I d'Aragona re di Napoli*, ed. 2 (Naples 1969) 423 n. 84 and 441.

⁶³I have not found a study on him; but see F. Guicciardini, *Storia d'Italia*, 5 vols., ed. C. Panigada (Bari 1929) vols. 1–2 *ad indicem*; S. Ammirato, *Delle famiglie nobili napoletane*, 2 vols. (Florence 1590–1591) 1.2.31; and I. W. Imhoff, *Genealogiae viginti illustrium in Italia familiarum* (Amsterdam 1710) 296. According to a report in *I diarii di Marino Sanuto* (n. 62 above) 3.1309, he was 32 years old in January 1501. In the next volume of the *Diarii* (vol. 4), he is presumed to have died early in 1501 since from April of that year onwards the index of the volume refers to the prince of Bisignano as "Luca." This datum disagrees with the view of the editor of Guicciardini who treats all of Guicciardini's references to the "principe di Bisignano" as being to Bernardino, the last being to the surrender of Gaeta in 1504 (2.124). An incident of 1497 reported by Guicciardini (1.276) takes up much of the account of Ammirato and Imhoff. According to a report of 3 May 1500 in *I diarii di Marino Sanuto* 3.326, his only born son is supposed to have died a short time earlier ("il principe di Bisignano si fingie esser amalato causa da la morte de un solo fileto nasuto ultimate"). Ammirato reports two sons, Pietro Romolo ("nato a Roma") and Guglielmo, Duca di Curigliano, as having predeceased Bernardino; Imhoff only mentions Pietro Romolo; but they both state that another son, Pietro Antonio, succeeded to the title of Prince of Bisignano.

affection for Posillipo. But are we to believe that Giles would make Posillipo once more his home after having joined the Tuscan Congregation of Lecceto, after the hermitage on Monte Cimino had become his preferred residence in all but the winter months,⁶⁴ and after he himself had become the head of the whole Augustinian order? Eleonora may have wanted to build some new structure for Giles on Posillipo perhaps as early as 1499–1501, but after he became the head of the Augustinians, a building on Posillipo could have served Giles's personal use only occasionally as a winter residence and certainly not as his long-term intellectual base. More probably he saw Eleonora's building initiative as a useful enterprise that as prior general he was duty-bound to encourage. Since he goes on to say in the passage that if Eleonora had lived, she would have shipped all the listed Greek manuscripts to Pope Leo X in Rome,⁶⁵ it is very dubious that he himself viewed Posillipo as a place where he would have settled to work on the conciliation of Plato and Christ. Also, after the time in 1504 when Giles first took up residence on Monte Cimino, the correlation between Cimino and Vesuvius and the special distinction of Posillipo would no longer exist. So, if one holds to a post-1503 dating, one has also to reinterpret most of the images in the prophecy.

The last option would do precisely this. If we assume that Giles is not the "mortal" of the prophecy, then Cimino could refer to him and his entourage, Vesuvius to Neapolitan humanism, and Posillipo to a scholar known to Giles and resident at Santa Maria della Consolazione anytime from 1503 to about 1517. But who? Of the three Augustinians who enjoyed at this time the prerequisite enthusiasm for Plato, knowledge of Greek, and friendship of Giles—Ambrogio Flandino, Niccolò Scutelli, and Girolamo Seripando—none resided at Posillipo.⁶⁶ Unless one can come up with a likely candidate in Posillipo other than Giles, this solution remains a dead end.

Consequently, though a later date is still possible, I consider the most tenable date for the fragment to be Giles's Neapolitan period, 1499–1501, or the years immediately thereafter. If this is so, then the fragment is Giles's earliest prose writing other than letters and prefaces.

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⁶⁴For Giles's many visits to Monte Cimino see A. M. Voci, "Idea di contemplazione ed eremitismo in Egidio da Viterbo," in *Egidio da Viterbo, O.S.A. e il suo tempo* (n. 2 above) 107–116, at 107–108.

⁶⁵See the end of n. 61 above.

⁶⁶Scutelli was a native of Trent and had little contact with Naples (for literature on him see my "Sermons" [n. 4 above] 139 n. 12). Both Flandino and Seripando were natives of Naples. But we know fairly well the movements of Flandino in the first two decades of the sixteenth century, and though he did reside frequently at the monastery of San Giovanni a Carbonara in Naples, we have no evidence of his staying on Posillipo; see S. Seidel Menchi, "La discussione su Erasmo nell'Italia del Rinascimento: Ambrogio Flandino vescovo a Mantova, Ambrogio Quistelli teologo padovano e Alberto Pio Principe di Carpi," in *Società, politica e cultura a Carpi ai tempi di Alberto III Pio* (Padua 1981) 291–382, at 296–312. As for Seripando, he did much like to reside on Posillipo in later life, e.g., in 1550–1551, but his early years, which are the relevant ones for our purposes, have been well charted by H. Jedin, *Girolamo Seripando: Sein Leben und Denken im Geisteskampf des 16. Jahrhunderts*, 2 vols. (Würzburg 1937), and it is clear that he spent little or no time as a resident of Posillipo before 1520.

APPENDIX

INTRODUCTION

MS V F 14 of the Biblioteca nazionale "Vittorio Emanuele III," Naples (henceforth = N) is an autograph working copy, which Giles would have revised and further corrected in final form. I have therefore occasionally taken the liberty of correcting inadvertent misspellings and grammatical errors. I call attention to these editorial interventions either by a superscript reference to the apparatus or by pointed brackets in the text proper. I have retained the orthography of N except that I have substituted a simple "e" where Giles wrote "e" with a cedilla. I punctuate according to modern conventions. The chapter numbers are those of the original, but I have added the section numbers within each chapter.

II. DESCRIPTION OF N

Bibliography: P. O. Kristeller, *Iter Italicum*, 4 vols. to date (Leiden 1963–1989) 1.419; O'Malley (n. 1 above) 193; C. O'Reilly, "The Reform Letters of Giles of Siena," in *Egidio da Viterbo*, O.S.A. (n. 2 above) 53–66, at 53 n. 1; Monfasani, "Sermons," *ibid.* 142–144.

S. XVI, paper, 215 × 157 mm., VIII (I–VII = modern; VIII = original) + 166 + V fols., miscellany composed of different fascicles and hands. Much of N consists of fragments from different manuscripts or collections. The margins are badly frayed, and in some folios completely destroyed. Four of the first six folios have a separate numeration: fol. 1r is marked "510" at the top; fol. 2r, "506"; fol. 5r, "509"; and fol. 6r, "507".

Fols. 1r–3r: some autograph diary entries of Giles (fol. 1r); then four autograph letters of Giles; I (fol. 1r): to Pope Julius II, dated "e Cyminis, 7^o Aug."; II (fol. 1v): to Pope Julius II, dated "Viterbii, 1510, VIII Kalendas Novembris"; III (fol. 2): to Antonius Zocholus, dated "Ex Cyminis, 1506, XII Kalendas Iulias"; IV (fol. 2v): to Pope Julius II, undated (*inc.* "Viterbii Kalendas Septembris pollicitus mihi es"); fragment of a letter (fols. 2v–3r), presumably of Giles and seemingly continuing the letter to Pope Julius II, in a new hand, *inc.* "perlate ordine sunt littere tue pridie;" *des.* "optima nota commendare dignabitur."

Fol. 3v: blank.

Fol. 4r: listing of words in Giles's hand ("† virgineam / † stomachi / † gaudeo *etc.*").

Fol. 4v: blank.

Fol. 5: autograph diary entry of Giles (fol. 5r); then an autograph draft of two different starts of a letter to a cardinal (fol. 5r–v).

Fol. 6r: a two-line diary entry in Giles's hand.

Fols. 6v–18v: blank.

Fols. 19r–23v: the anonymous fragment in Giles's hand which I edit below; the fragment is divided into sections, beginning with section 18 and cut short in section 21; *inc.* "18. Presul divum nuntium videt;" *des.* "nec totius orbis providentiam recognosce."

Fols. 23v–28v: anonymous Volgare sermon in the hand of Niccolò Scutelli, dated in Latin at the start "Viterbii, 1527, secundo die Paschae" (*inc.* "Dilexisti iustitiam et odisti iniquitatem"), which I excerpt and attribute to Giles in "Sermons" (n. 4 above) 142–144.

Fol. 29: blank except for the name "Hieronymo Seripando" (hum. curs. hand) on fol. 29r. The name is in the dative apparently because Seripando is the addressee of the work that follows.

Fols. 30r–37v: (same hand) anonymous Latin cabalistic treatise titled *De literis*, defective at the end; *inc.* "De literis / Figure literarum sunt XXVII;" followed by a chart of Hebrew *numeri singulares, denarii, centenarii*; *des.* "in rebus corporalibus et anima in spiritualibus $\pi\rho\acute{\alpha}\xi\omega$. . .;" with the English word "End" in large pseudo-Gothic lettering at the bottom of the page.

Fol. 38r: Cabalistic diagram of a crown with a vertical, rectangular figure underneath, titled *Suprema Corona*, partially destroyed, cut in two pieces, with Hebrew words in both Hebrew and Roman characters along with their Latin translation written in different places in the diagram.

Fols. 38v–39v: blank.

Fols. 40r–41r: (new curs. hand) adespotic commentary on Cicero *Nat. D.* 3.42–59 (on the many individuals to whom are attributed the same names in Greek mythology). It begins “*Ex eo igitur et Liscito et Lysithoe. Grecus enim, licet innominatus, idoneus tamen, ita auctor scribit: ἀπὸ τῶν ἱστοριῶν εὐρίσκομεν ἔκτὰ [sic] Ἡρακλεῖς γενέσθαι* [Lydos *De mens.* ed. Roether, 4.46, ad finem].” It ends: “quartam vero Iovis et Diones, que nupta Vulcano furtivo Martis concubitu peperit Antherota.”

Fol. 41v: blank.

Fol. 42: this folio is folded vertically and contains in the right column of both recto and verso notes on Hebrew words.

Fols. 43r–50v: (Ital. hum. ro. hand): fragment of an Italian treatise, defective at start and end, consisting of the latter part of the second *dubitazione* (fols. 43r–46v) and part of the third *dubitazione* (fols. 47r–50v): *inc.* “La quarta è essendo la fè cattolica una bisogna che in ogni articolo sia una fede di tutti fedeli;” *des.* et la via per la qual d’infedele diviene fedele et;” with the catch words *di peccatore* at the base of the page.

Fols. 51r–65r: (chancery hand) Latin treatise addressed to Pope Pius IV (preface: fols. 51r–54v; treatise: 55r–65r); the preface speaks of a commentary on Psalm 118, but what follows is not the commentary, but a prologue to the commentary called: “Appendix. De autoritate sacre scripture deque illius ministerio et usu,” which begins: “Verbum dei est quicquid ipse deus per semetipsum quicquid per angelos et prophetas suos quicquid per filium et per apostolos illius loquutus est;” it ends: “Sed satis de ipsa verbi dei autoritate deque istius legitimis ministris et germano usu diximus. Nunc vero ad Psalmarum interpretationis [sic] nobis deveniendum est.”

Fols. 65v–66v: blank, except that fol. 66r has the words “Cont. de modo praed.,” referring to the text that immediately follows.

Fols. 67r–72r: (new curs. hand) adespotic treatise on preaching; *inc.* “Quoniam inter tot mala quibus Christiana respublica perturbatur illud quod proximis annis vidimus accidisse in compluribus urbibus Italie, in quam provinciam dei optimi maximi gratia ac ope nulla labe Luterane pestis pervasit, non negligendum prudentibus viris;” *des.* “Hoc tantum si prestiterit, unctio eum docebit neque alterius indigebit monitis ullis. Hec satis pro modulo huius opusculi. Deo altissimo laus sit inexplicabilis.”

Fols. 72v–73v: blank.

Fols. 74r–80r: (new curs. hand) collection of religious *sententiae*, biblical proof texts, prayers, meditations; *inc.* “Mors Christi dicitur somnus. Jer. 31 [v. 26]: Quare de somno suscitatus et somnus meus dulcis fuit mihi;” *des.* “Hodie dies nativitatis, cras tempus conversationis et passionis, tertia dies resurrectionis, propter quod dicitur Josue 5 [v. 9]. ‘Hodie auferam a vobis, o probrium Aegypti.’ ”

Fols. 80v–83v: blank.

Fol. 84r: (new curs. hand) title for the work which follows on fols. 86r–106r: “Sex Principia Egidii de Roma fundatissimi doctoris . . . Expositio . . . super librum sex principiorum Gilberti Porretani collecta et iterum et iterum revisa et indice dupplici, videlicet, dubbiorum et alfabetico, decorata per venerandum sacre theologie bacchalarium fratrem Augustinum de Monte Ilcino [sc. Montalcino, Siena] eiusdem ordinis in conventu sancte Iacobi de Bononia et per eundem dicata Angelo Moreschino de Monte Ilcino, fratri iuveni non mediocri expectationis, anno a Christo nato MDXXXXVIII”.

Fols. 84v–85v: blank.

Fols. 86r–106r: the treatise proper.

Fol. 106v: blank.

III. FRAGMENT OF A TEXT OF GILES OF VITERBO

[N 19r]

18. Presul divum nuntium videt atque¹ archana divinorum scitatur.²

(1) Vir¹ quondam spectate sanctitatis sacris cerimoniis preerat. Sui cultum postulaturus antequam uspiam coleretur, visus est archangelus Michael suadens templa² arasque sibi³ construi in Gargano vertice, quem eius⁴ tutele demandatum eo monstravit signo, quod spiculo sagyp-tantem⁵ confoderat⁶ quemadmodum et humani generis venatorem confecturus erat. (2) Tunc consternatus presul viciniam excivit,¹ visa tam nova mirabundus exponens. Expavere viri, femine tremuere, et quid agi oporteret, rogabat flens dolensque civitas. Cumque omnes in templum confluiscent, monere animos presul vitia detestari, sacra poscere, preces suadere,² ac tridua³ ieiunia in universum edicere.⁴ Postrema demum nocte prostratus in cubiculo pastor lucem⁵ conspiciatur.⁶ Unde voce arc(h)angeli presentiam asserente, sustitit⁷ haud interritus paulisper vir optimus. Mox, anima⁸ etiam magni ducis suasionem confirmata,⁹ surrexit in verba fidentior, cumque, multis ultro citroque agganitis¹⁰ ac pulso metu, ducem conciliasse videretur.

(3) Quando, inquit,¹ fandi per te mihi etas facta est, e re natam occasionem tam raram haudquamquam obmittendam existimem. Non ignoro, inquit, divinissimum ac celeste genus vestrum sum(m)o rerum imperatori iunctissimos, quin² et antiquorum³ patrum facinora, doctrinas, predicationes, creberrimasque⁴ preter omnium spem victorias vestris semper auspiciis evenisse. Ita sane universi regem statuere palam est. Faciam ego que uti doces lubens, atque per id omne quod superest vite ad cultum sacraque tua homines adhortabor. Sed imbecillior⁵ mihi longe

Tit. 1. atque *supra lin.*; *antea* que *scr. et del.* N. 2. Giles's spelling of either *sciscitatur* or *scitatur*.

(1) 1. Episcopus *ante vit del.* N. This is S. Lorenzo Maiorano, bishop of Siponto, who died ca. 546; for that part of his *vita* concerned with the apparition of Michael the Archangel see the excerpt from the *Vita sancti Laurentii episcopi Sipontini* in MGH *Scriptores rerum Langobardicarum et Italicarum*, ed. G. Waitz (Hanover 1878) 543–545, at 544.42ff.; see also AS Febr. 2 (Paris 1865) 61–63; and *Bibliotheca latina hagiographica antiquae et mediae aetatis*, 2 vols. (Brussels 1898–1901) 2.712, nos. 4790–4791. In addition to S. Lorenzo's *vita*, we should mention three other accounts of the apparition that would have been available to Giles: (i) the Roman Breviary for 8 May, *lectio* 5ff.; (ii) the *Liber de apparitione sancti Michaelis in monte Gargano*, available in *Script. rerum Langob.* 540–543 (a variant version in F. Ughelli, *Italia sacra*, ed. N. Coletus, 7 [Venice 1721] 816–818) and in AS Sept. 8 [Paris 1865] 61–62; for other editions see *Bibliotheca hagiographica latina* 868. no. 5948; and (iii) the *Legenda aurea*'s chapter *De sancto Michael archangelo*; see Jacobus a Voragine, *Legenda aurea*, ed. T. Graesse (I consulted the Osnabrück 1965 reprint of the 1890 edition) cap. 140, pp. 642–653. For the apparition and the establishment of a shrine in the Archangel's honor on Monte Gargano see also H. Leclercq, "Michel (Culte de Saint)," *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie* 2.1 (Paris 1933) 903–907, at 905–906; for the cult of Michael in general, see O. Rojdestvensky, *Le culte de Saint Michel et le moyen âge latin* (Paris 1922). 2. sibi *ante templa del.* N. 3. sibi *supra lin.* 4. *antea* sibi, *deinde* sue *scr. et del.* N. 5. I. e. *sagittantem*. 6. The words *sagyp-tantem confoderat* are not found in any of the sources, but they are reminiscent of some words unique to the Roman Breviary: "Cum vero quidam ex illis, ut taurum *configeret*, sagittam emisisset, retorta sagitta in ipsum recidit *sagittarium*." Cf. the narrative in the *De apparitione Sancti Michaelis* (*Script. rerum Langob.* 541.29–31): "[the owner of the bull, when he found it,] iraque permotus, cur solivagus incederet, arrepto arcu appetit illum sagitta toxicata. Quae velud venti flamine retorta, eum a quo iecta est mox reversa percussit."

(2) 1. *antea* exc *scr. et del.* N. 2. suadere *supra lin.*; *antea* edicere *scr. et del.* N. 3. tridua *supra lin.*; *antea* bidua *scr. et del.* N. 4. edicere ex *endicere corr.* N. 5. lumen *ante lucem del.* N. 6. *Liber de apparitione* cited in n. 1 of §1 above reports three apparitions, the last two being nocturnal. 7. I. e. *substitit*. 8. numine (?) *ante anima del.*, et *anima ex animam corr.* N. 9. confirmata *scripsi*: confirmato N. 10. Apparently from the Italian *agganciare*, "to hook," "to clasp."

(3) 1. *Sc.* the bishop. 2. quin *scripsi*: quando (qn) N. 3. omne *ante antiquorum del.* N. 4. sepiissim(e) *ante creberrimasque del.* N. 5. ut rem tantam ipse *ante imbecillior del.* N.

videor quam ut rem tam arduam moliri⁶ possim. (4) Perrogabunt sc(r)upulosius¹ viri fermeque quid viderim, quem superum, quo ore,² quibus amiculis,³ quo sermone adventantem. Et quo rei⁴ novitate acrius stimulati concurrent. De divinis divinorumque mysteriorum medullis hominem scitabuntur ne in humanorum quidem experientias satis eruditum.⁵ Quare vereor ne cunctantem et quid iis de rebus disseram hesitantem dolum suspicati perdididerint neve minus quam expectarent edocti, simplicem imperitiem⁶ pro versuta fallacia vindicarent. (5) Vatum enim priscorum¹ et Moysayce hereseos prophetarum me imprimis excruciat casus, quorum quippe vaticinia populorum principumve insecuta indignatio est. Quare aut sine periculo consulam aut prius de² iis que a me dis(s)ertanda³ sint disseras queque alios edocturus sim edoce.

(6) Finierat equidem istac meticolosus ac zoiphylus¹ presul. At minor terrarum sospitator sic excipit.²

(7) Quanquam mihi metus ille tuus, deo percare,¹ nunquam aut formidatus fuit aut suspectus, dici tamen nullo pacto possim [*sic*]² quam et iucunda fuerit scitula rogatio ac questio, sed³ prorsus argutula. Faxo iam ausum⁴ tuum egregium alioquin molimen et apprime modestum minime⁵ poeniteat. Rem itaque incipiam si te tamen prius commonitum fecero. Pro noctis precipitantis angustia non dibatanda⁶ disputationis laxius argumenta, sed omnia adeo generatim coactum iri ut per te facile queas rogantibus satisfacere. Curabo insuper tue regionis habere rationem, que, cum gentium adhuc erroribus undecunque scateat, gentium quoque testimoniis⁷ convincenda⁸ est. [N 19v]

19. Quod divina cognosci natura non possunt.

(1) Video autem, ut hinc ordiar,¹ plerosque sensui usque adeo mancipatos ut quicquid oculorum fugit obtutum obmittendum ac minime tentandum intelligentia iudicent. Ita nanque atque ea nos lege in mundi arce sitos dicunt ut cognosci nec debere nec posse existiment, queri quidem ab humana diligentia non oportere res nostras.² Eo astruunt, quod cum mortalium locus animusque in divinorum ac ratione carentium meditullio constitutus sit,³ decere prorsus videtur ut sua degens mediocritate contentus nec pressius ad terrena ac viliora labatur neve petulantius ad inaccessa dei penetralia se proripiat, ac veluti civice virtutes in diversorum sibi mediis sedem figunt,⁴ ita sane par est ut media natura in mediorum intercapedine versata que humeris viribusque altiora sunt mittat. (2) Altiora, inquit, te ne quesieris. Cumque presignato iustoque¹ procerius volitare gestiret noster olim Lucifer, nullas ad penam impetravit inducias. Non cuiusque quippe est solem adire, quod preter Bellerofonteam Icariamque temeritatem solis quoque, ut Greci assimulant, filius² letali exemplo commonuit, ut non ab re propheta oculis non elatis gratuletur cum "neque in magnis in(i)que ambulavi neque in mirabilibus super me."³ Quo-

6. moliri *bis scr.*, sed *postea corr.* N.

(4) 1. scrupiosius *ante* sc(r)upulosius *del.* N. 2. amictu *ante* ore *del.* N. 3. laciiniis (?) *ante* amiculis *del.* N. 4. acrius *ante* rei *del.* N. 5. eruditum *scripsi*: eruditum N. 6. inscitiam *pro ante* imperitiem *del.* N.

(5) 1. sacrorum *ante* priscorum *del.* N. 2. q *ante* de *del.* N. 3. dis(s)ertanda *scripsi*: dis(s)ertandi N.

(6) 1. Apparently a neologism meaning "life-loving" or "friend of life," from the Greek ζῶν and φίλος. 2. What follows is Archangel Michael's speech.

(7) 1. I.e., "o you who are very dear to God." 2. Giles should have written either *dicere possim* or *dici possit*. 3. s *in* sed *ex h* *corr.* N. 4. ut *ante* ausum *del.* N. 5. cepti *ante* minime *del.* N. 6. I.e., the Italian *dibattere*, "to debate," "to argue." 7. *ex* testibu(s) *corr.* N. 8. bi (?) *ante* convincenda *del.* N.

(1) 1. The bishop is speaking. 2. s *ante* nostras *del.* N. 3. sit *scripsi*: sint N. 4. For the Plotinian civic virtues (*Enn.* 1.2.1, 16ff.) see Macrobian *In Somn. Sc.* 1.8.5-8.

(2) 1. Sc. Jesus Christ. 2. Sc. Phaethon. 3. Ps. 130.1.

que vero nec attingere quidem ad nos fas sit. Sic astruunt. Cum enim sensile dumtaxat scrutari mens humana consueverit nihilque unquam non materie calligatum assequi soleat, nunquam adeo se potest contemplando attollere ut puram nature nostre simplicitatem attingat.

(3) Hanc utique difficultatem signabat Theut, emuli nostri, discipulus Trismegistus.¹ Hunc enim demonum fere omnium fallacissimus, quem² dixi Theut, erudiit, qui cum archanorum pleraque aliis intentata cognovisset, scripsit fortasse quid non intellexit.³ Quid est enim quod divina in caligine videri testatur nisi quod ad nostra dignoscenda mentis humane caligat obtutus?

(4) Hunc postea probe imitatus est Socrates, qui non a scribendo cum Pythagora temperavit solum, sed, velut in universa vita fecerat, in ipso quoque mortis limine clamabat. Admiramini, inquit, viri Athenienses, Socraticam doctrinam, quam in¹ iuventutis internitionem et perniciem disseminasse me dicitis. Quam vere, quam probe, quam iure iam dicatis, si placet, cognoscite. Hoc enim usque ad cana hec tempora solum didici, me id dumtaxat scire quod nihil scio.

(5) Huius quoque auditor, Plato, qui res nostras adeo de proximo intellexit ut nemo seu Grecorum seu barbarorum philosophantium vero se ingesserit proprius, que si tua intelligerent¹ tempora, [N 20r] non ab assertione veritatis tantopere abhorrerent, dicerem, profecto que nostris institutis consona posteritati commiserit.²

(6) Sed hanc sibi provinciam Parthenopeus Pausylipus¹ arripuit,² qui quamprimum mortalium aliquem ex sententia offenderit. Scio ex sepiissima cum Cimino et Vesuvio³ disputatione multa feta mente concepisse. Quae⁴ cum pariet, turrim serenabit nebulosam.

(7) Is aut(em), de quo dicebam,¹ Plato iam² admodum senex, cum celestium rerum magnitudo in dies gravior ac difficilior videretur, nihil se de divinis scripsisse testatur.³ Aristonem quoque Greci referunt asseruisse divinam formam comprehendere nullo pacto posse.⁴

(8) Claudat itaque caput Italus tuus, qui universa dogmata florido non minus quam obscuro carmine claudere aggressus. Rei molem veritus nos alloquitur, quamquam Chaos et inferna commemoret, orans ut "fas esset numine nostro pandere res alta terra et caligine mersas."¹

(9) Vides homines propemodum somniantes vera tamen opulentissimis testimoniis approbare ut hominibus qui Christum nesciunt probe ostendas nostre consuetudinis altitudinem non

(3) 1. Because the name *Theut* is indeclinable, this sentence and the subsequent one are open to two different interpretations. Reading *Theut* as a genitive in apposition with *emuli nostri* (as Latin usage demands), we have the sense: "Trismegistus, the disciple of our rival, Theut, particularly signaled this difficulty. For the most deceitful of almost all the demons, whom I have called Theut, taught him [Trismegistus] etc." Alternatively, one might wish to take Theut as being in apposition with Trismegistus, and therefore extract this sense from the passage: "Theut Trismegistus, the disciple of our rival [that is, Lucifer] particularly etc. For the most deceitful of almost all the demons taught him, whom I have called Theut etc." This second reading is possible for the first sentence, but violates Latin prose usage in the second sentence, and should be rejected out of hand except for the fact that Hermes Trismegistus, author of the hermetic corpus, was frequently identified with the Egyptian god Thoth (That, Theut); Lactant. *Div. Inst.* 1.6.1; and P. Festugière, *La révélation d'Hermès Trismégiste*, ed. 3, 1 (Paris 1950), chap. 4, pp. 67ff.: "Hermès-Thoth et la littérature hermétique." 2. Concerning the antecedent see the previous note. 3. On Hermes Trismegistus being taught by demons see Augustine *De civ. Dei* 8.24; and Lactant. *Div. Inst.* 4.27.20 and 7.18.2.

(4) 1. ad *ante* in *del. N.*

(5) 1. intelligerent *scripsi*: intelligent *N.* 2. The subject of *commiserit* is *auditor*; the direct object are the two *que*'s.

(6) 1. I believe Giles means the guardian angel of Posillipo near Naples, where Giles lived in 1499–1501; see n. 35 and passim in the article above. 2. adi *ante* arripuit *del. N.* 3. As in n. 1 above, I believe Giles means here guardian angels and, in this case, of Monte Cimino near Viterbo and of Vesuvius near Naples. 4. *que* (i.e. *feta*) is the direct object of *pariet*; *Pausylipus* is the subject.

(7) 1. dicebam *scripsi*: dicebat *N.* 2. causa (cā) *ante* iam *del. N.* 3. *Ep.* 2.314c and 7.341c; cf. also Cic. *Nat. D.* 1.30. 4. Cic. *Nat. D.* 1.37 (= J. von Arnim, ed., *Stoicorum veterum fragmenta*, 4 vols. [Leipzig 1905–1924] 1.87, no. 378).

(8) 1. Virg. *Aen.* 6.266–67. The *Italus* of the passage is obviously Virgil.

posse expedite absoluteve¹ viventi constare. Et id quidem disseres hominibus nescientibus deum per eos qui deum nihilo minus nescient.²

(10) Sed quamquam difficilis sit volatus, imo fortasse nulli concessus, ut, quemadmodum dicebam, absolute clareque cognoscas, non tamen iccirco quisquam ab ea investigatione deterreatur. Nam et qui perennis¹ atque² uberrimi fontis universam³ venam complecti non potest, non tamen vasculis⁴ domesticis haurire contemdit,⁵ quantum sibi usui fore existimabit. Non sustinet meridiem vespertilio; non tamen aspernatur⁶ sera⁷ et expectata crepuscula.

(11) Altiora¹ vero te querere aut superstitione aut insolenter prohibemus.² Notitiam³ certe de nostre civitatis amplitudine, que⁴ sapientia nuncupatur, et in celo et templis et in foris clamat: "beati qui custodiunt vias meas;"⁵ et "qui me invenerit, inveniet vitam."⁶ Hec namque illa est sapientia que a patre⁷ radians vestris⁸ in mentibus nostra subinde opera illucescit. Tollere ergo oculos in nos iube populos, velo abducto.⁹ Quodsi apertam Moysi faciem intueri non poterunt, opertam certe poterunt.¹⁰ [N 20v]

20. Deum aut inscium aut non probum aut nullum dicunt impii.

(1) Scio occultam ac¹ perdifficilem rerum² investigationem arbitratos plerosque passim musitare ac nesci(o) quid concinati³ criminationis in mundi artificem effutire atque confingere: debuisse illum claudicantibus humanarum mentium⁴ ingeniis⁵ consuluisse, aciem ascisse animi acutioris, studia instituisse⁶ planiora, ac demum liquidiore intelligentia participasse; neque enim par e(ss)e⁷ libellos coemere⁸ quos nemo unquam lectitet aut equos canesque educere qui venatu cursuve perpetuo abstineant. (2) Tunc siquidem esse haud incassum dicimus unumquodque cum genuino fine usuve non caret, accedit quod aut invidi aut minus¹ equi parentis est liberis augustissimam hereditatem, cum² liquido potuerit, non testari. Postremo, cum rerum natureque parens prestantissimum, divinissimum, optimum³ in natura sit rerum, isque impariore⁴ benivolentia pre animantibus ceteris hominem complecti dicatur, cur ceteris⁵ fere omnibus que vulgo gignuntur in aere,⁶ in terris, in pelago aut presto aut omnino facilem monstraverit fine(m), uni homini aut ne perspectum quidem aut certe perspectu hactenus⁷ arduum ut vir uni aut alteri sit compertus?

(3) Multa¹ id genus assimulant impie blacterantes. Atque, ut se divino metu eripiant, causificantes ita denique cavillum pretendunt: aut hec norat homini eventura deus aut ille quoque nostram ignorat ignoran(tiam).² Si scisse hec illum fateare, aut impotentem aut iniquum oportet fateare qui liberos perfecto munere excolere atque exornare vel non quiverit vel neglex(erit),³

(9) 1. absoluteve *scripsi*: absolutequeve *N*. 2. *N in marg. notat*: quo possunt et debent divina intelligi.

(10) 1. non ante perennis *del. N*. 2. clarique fo (?) ante atque *del. N*. 3. late ante universam *del. N*. 4. non ante vasculis *scr. N, sed omitto*. 5. contemdit ex contemnit, et antea contemnit ex contemnit *mut. N*. 6. grata ante aspernatur *del. N*. 7. expect ante sera *del. N*.

(11) 1. niti igitur cu (?) ante altiora *del. N*. 2. prohibemus *scripsi*: prohibemur *N*; antea monemur *scr. et del. N*. 3. notitiam vero (?) ante notitiam *del. N*. 4. The antecedent is the subject of *clamat*, i.e. "that which is called wisdom proclaims etc." 5. Prov. 8.32. 6. Cf. Mt. 10.39, Io. 6.46 and 3.36, and 1 Io. 5.12. 7. a patre *scripsi*: apud *N*. 8. in ante vestris *del. N*. 9. velo abducto ex loco ante opertam *transp. N*; positionem post quodsi *malim*. 10. Cf. Ex. 34.33-35.

(1) 1. rerum ante ac *del. N*. 2. rerum supra *lin.* 3. Sc. concinnati. 4. ex mentibus *corr. N*. 5. ex ingeniisse *corr. N*. 6. e in instituisse *ad marg. dext. excisa est*; -isse in *marg. sinist. scr. N¹*. 7. sse in esse excisae sunt *ad marg. dext.*; esse in *marg. sinist. scr. N¹*. 8. coeg ante coemere *del. N*.

(2) 1. no ante minus *del. N*. 2. non testari ante cum *del. N*. 3. ex optimum *corr. N*. 4. impariore *scripsi*: imperiore *N*. 5. a ante ceteris *del. N*. 6. in aere supra *lin.* 7. isque ante hactenus *del. N*.

(3) 1. ist ante multa *del. N*. 2. tiam in ignorantiam excisae sunt *ad marg. dext., sed ignorantiam in marg. sinist. scr. N¹*. 3. xerit in neglexerit excisae sunt *ad marg. dext., sed neglexerit in marg. sinist. scr. N¹*.

que⁴ a pudentis cuiusque assertione abhorreant.⁵ Id tandem⁶ compendio colligunt: aut nescire hec illum, si modo ille fuerit, aut, si esse⁷ nescientem, minus deceat.⁸ (4) Esse deum cum Diodoro et Diagora¹ negemus dicamusque cum Epicuro, ut quinto De natura deorum recenset² Posidonius:³ que sensi, habui simul et cognovi, alia superstitioso labore querant alii. Hec itaque ii homines afferunt.

(5) Quodsi forte quodnam¹ id hominum sit genus scire gestias, ex orationis calce nosse licet, quam² in ferenda de deo sententia sigillum tandem clausurit Epicuri. Quod nulli mirum videri velim quando, ut profanos obmiserim, haud secus opinari Salios ac Lupercos³ nostros avaritia, gula, ambitio, libido, et universa vite obscenitas arguit.⁴ Tam bellule delicatis nostrorum auribus, favilla demulcentis persuadet Epicuri,⁵ quem a Diagora deum prorsus auferente is,⁶ quem paulo ante dicebam, Posidonius nihil plane asserit dissentire.⁷ (6) Nos autem aliquid adinvenimus ubi¹ minus² inter illos convenisse probemus, quod Diagore quidem sermo sententiae, licet impie, consentiebat. Mollissimi autem ac meticulosi hominis, imo³ perditissime bestiae disciplina. Aliud in fo(r)nicibus ac cubilibus lascivie indulgens asserebat, aliud in cathedris et porticibus.⁴ Adde. . . .⁵ [N 21r]

21. Italie fedi¹ mores et fabella Europe

(1) Quam sane vivendi rationem an nostra usurpent tempora, nemo prorsus¹ inficiatur. Videri attonsum crinem, rarum ac divinum sermonem, senatorium incessum, rigorem consularem, strictam tetrica promissione frontem, mentitam² tam eterno lenocinio sanctitatem: Athellane scene sunt ac nuge mere. Nos alta de celi arce arbitantes rebusque agendis, quantumvis etiam clanculum, assistentes hec satis probe novimus.

(2) Utque tibi dolituro fortasse rem penitus prodam, inter omnes orbis terrarum principes qui humanis rite administrandis asciti¹ sumus neminem demandate provincie pudet magis quam eum qui dorso insidet Apennini, infidum, salax, avarum, ac² sibi crudele Dorsum.³ Volo audias quid eo de Dorso fabulari ipsi⁴ sepicule⁵ soleamus.

4. sin vero ante que del. N. 5. Cf. Cic. Nat. D. 3.76–78. 6. ndem in tandem excisae sunt ad marg. dext., sed tandem in marg. sinist. scr. N¹. 7. minus deceat ante esse del. N. 8. For this whole section cf. Aug. De civ. Dei. 7.7; and Enarrationes in Psalmos, Ps. 31, Enar. 2, cap. 25 (PL 36.273; Corpus christianorum. Series latina, vol. 38: Aurelii Augustini opera, Pars X, 1 [Turnholt 1956], 242).

(4) 1. gora in Diagora excisae sunt ad marg. dext., sed Diagora in marg. sinist. scr. N¹. 2. recenset in marg. sinist. iteravit N¹. 3. See Cic. Nat. D. 1.123: "Verius est igitur nimirum illud quod . . . Posidonius disseruit in libro quinto de natura deorum nullos esse deos Epicuro videri."

(5) 1. qui nam ante quodnam del. N. 2. ex que corr. N. 3. cos in Lupercos in marg. sinist. iteravit N¹. For the Luperci and Salii, who figured in certain Roman festivals, see K. Latte, Römische Religionsgeschichte (Munich 1960) 85, 114–116; Ovid, Fasti 2.267ff. and 3.259–260; J. G. Frazer's edition of and commentary on the Fasti, 5 vols. (London 1929) ad indicem. 4. guit in arguit in marg. sinist. iteravit N¹. 5. ultima i in Epicuri excisa est ad marg. dext., sed Epicuri in marg. sinist. scr. N¹. 6. nihil pha ante is del. N. 7. In Nat. D. Cicero several times refers to the atheism of Diagoras (1.2, 63, 117; 3.89), but he does not attribute this information to Posidonius nor does he connect Epicurus to Diagoras except by implication (cf. 1.117).

(6) 1. in quo Epicurus Di ante ubi N del. 2. non (?) ante minus del. N. 3. aliud mens (?) ante imo del. N. 4. In contrast, cf. those who not only believe wicked things, but also publish them as well: O'Reilly, "Maximus Caesar et Pontifex Maximus," 105.26–28; and O'Malley (n. 1 above) 46. 5. ultima linea (aut lineae) folii 20v excisa est.

Tit. 1. turpes ante fedi del. N

(1) 1. sane ante prorsus del. N. 2. a (?) ante mentitam del. N.

(2) 1. ex adsciti corr. N. 2. dirum ante ac del. N. 3. Giles means the angel who looks after the Apennine Mountains, the "spine of Italy" (Dorsus); see §11–12 below. 4. so ante ipsi del. N.

5. soleamus ante sepicule del. N.

(3) Cum Romanas habenas Claudius Quintus imperator moderaretur,¹ Petram, primum pontificem, tante molis fundamenta iacturum omnes fere convenimus, afferentes dei iussu fortitudinem, consilia, suppetias. Detrusus is tandem est in carcerem, quem subinde solari ac spe animoque fovere annitebamur.² Dormierat³ is nocte iam profunda. Nos vero,⁴ utpote nunquam⁵ a divinis nostro more colloctionibus demorati, sub Tarpei(i) saxi⁶ angulo noto⁷ inter nos silentio loquebamur, ac de divina in homines ac provincias⁸ voluntate altercantes⁹ noctis ocia feriati trahabamus. (4) Quisque de divino sibi amore blandiebatur et, veluti¹ in Daniele legis,² suos quisque agros preponentes defendebantur. Bactrianus multa de Zoroastre; multa³ de Trismegisto Egyptius; Afer de Hannibale, Hasdrubale, et Iuba dictitabat. Macedonicus Philippum ac magnum filium laudare; Asiatici Cresos,⁴ Cyros, Darios, Xerxes; Cyprius Rodon;⁵ Cretensis Sybillum; aliarumque⁶ insularum ac provinciarum pastores suorum compendio gesta memorare.

(5) Tunc qui Italie preerat:¹ audite, inquit, divorum maximorum laudes, quippe qui in iis qui a vero cognoscendo remoti sunt omnes longo intervallo superent. Audierat² enim me³ de Iudeis disputantem, quibus divinorum veritas predicata sit soli(s).⁴ Cum seriusissimam de Aboriginibus, regibus, consulibus, tribunis, ac denique imperatoribus ille accepisset fabulam, omnes iam prope Quirinali multiloquentia⁵ fatigaverat, nec tamen adhuc⁶ exordia⁷ excesserat.

(6) Tunc Graius, qui¹ de sapientia cum universo contenderet:² bella, inquit, omnia ista sunt. Nisi tuis istis brutis seu maius "Augustis" nostre provincie demones imposuisse(n)t illusissentque,³ quos istorum non prostratos ante⁴ nepharias aras De(l)phice⁵ bestie temeritas vidit? Quos,⁶ inquam, istorum talenta⁷ simul et pateras afferentes⁸ non risit in cubiculo Pythia? Latebant istec Romanam rusticitatem. (7) At ego, qui demonis audaciam omnia pro libidine ausuram freno divini imperii retundebam, sudebam¹ tuis petentib(us)² quandoque demonem in responso confingendo³ estuare, quandoque fingere⁴ etiam nescientem rem differe, quandoque, uti⁵ miseram tuorum aliquando⁶ agnoscas, demone obmut(e)scente,⁷

(3) 1. That is the Emperor C. Claudius Nero (54–68), in whose reign according to Catholic tradition St. Peter was martyred in Rome (see the next note). "Quintus" was not part of Nero's name; Giles apparently used the name "Claudius" as if it were the family name of the first five emperors (Octavius Augustus, Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius, and Nero), and therefore meant that Nero was the fifth "Claudius." The *Liber pontificalis* describes St. Peter's apostolate as taking place under four of these emperors: "Hic Petrus ingressus in urbe Roma, Nerone Caesare, ibique sedit cathedram episcopatus ann. XXV m. II d. III. Fuit autem temporibus Tiberii Cesaris et Gaii et Tiberii Claudii et Neronis" (ed. L. Duchesne, in *Bibliothèque des écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome*, ser. 2, 3.1–2 [Paris 1886–1892] 1.118.3–4). 2. For the tradition of St. Peter being held in the Mamertine Prison on the Capitoline Hill before his martyrdom see H. Leclercq, O.S.B., "Mamertine (Prison)," *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne* 10.1 (Paris 1931) 1356–1360, at 1359; and Daniel W. O'Connor, *Peter in Rome: The Literary, Liturgical, and Archeological Evidence* (New York 1969) 40. 3. *duas litteras ante dormierat del. N.* 4. *que ante vero del. N.* 5. *ex nusquam N mut.* 6. The Tarpeian Rock on the Capitoline Hill, from which criminals were executed (see Pauly-Wissowa, 4 A.2.2330) and which held the Mamertine Prison (see n. 2 above). 7. *solito ante noto del. N.* 8. *sed provinrias aut provencias scriptum esse videtur.* 9. *ex altricantes corr. N.*

(4) 1. *ut in ante veluti del. N.* 2. Dan. 10.13; cf. 1 Enoch 20. 3. *de Anacharse multa Scythe ante multa del. N.* 4. *Cresos supra lin.* 5. *ex Rodos mut. N.* 6. *alieque ante aliarumque del. N.*

(5) 1. *ex preerant corr. N.* 2. *ego ante audierat del. N.* 3. That is Michael the Archangel. 4. *s excisa est ad marg.* 5. *magniloq ante multiloquentia del. N.* 6. *ut ante adhuc del. N.* 7. *antea defieret (?), deinde exor del. N.*

(6) 1. *angelus ante qui del. N.* 2. *contenderet scripsi: contemderet N (ex contemneret corr.).* 3. *te (?) ante illusissent del. N.* 4. *antea risit, deinde ante simul del. N.* 5. *p in De(l)phice ex s corr. N.* 6. *quem ante quos del. N.* 7. *pateras et ante talenta del. N.* 8. *is supra es in afferentes scr. N, sed es non del.*

(7) 1. *audiebam, deinde ven (?) del., et sudebam supra lin. scrip. N.* 2. *us excisae sunt ad marg.* 3. *co . . . and ante confingendo del. N.* 4. *nihil inveni ante fingere del. N.* 5. *quod ante uti del. N.* 6. *aliquando supra lin.* 7. *e excisa est ad marg.*

Caria mentitis oraculis,⁸ caneabant⁹ boni¹⁰ vates que inter¹¹ scortandum ipsi noctu¹² ediderant.

(8) Tacuit diu indignabundus Latias¹ princ(eps),² egre profecto ferens exprobratam Romuleorum credulitatem. Sed omnia, inquit, istec probe nosti, quippe qui et patrari tua in provincia permisisisti. Ad quod sane nun(quam)³ Itali me demones alioquin immanissimi adducere potuerunt. [N 21v] Nec Albuneam nec Egeriam⁴ nec alias eius generis nugas me diutius passum audisti ut Europe dexteram, que⁵ Trinacrium⁶ adusque euripum et Regium protendit (quantum quidem iniquitas temporum passa est⁷), erroribus aliorum⁸ nephandissimis vacare coegi.⁹ (9) Nec Pasiphe hic taurum arsit¹ nec bruta et monstra Egyptiaca quisquam coluit nec taurice anime humanas quisquam hostias mactavit.² Et³ quamquam scene tam multe, theatra tam magnifica, tanta mimorum⁴ studia, nullus tamen poetarum tantum ausit ut deum in cignum taurumve ad⁵ pellices fallendas (proh scelum Graie petulantie!) mutatum luserit.

(10) Tum Atticus: scio, inquit, tam Greciam quam universas gentium nationes preter Hebreos vates¹ aberrasse,² et eo propensius Grecos quo vane sapientie studio proutiora sumministrarunt³ instrumenta demonibus ut omnia defendere posse viderentur. Sed velim intelligas illud, quod tandem carpebas mallens fortasse illud suppressisse. (11) Ridebant quondam¹ Athenienses demones omnem² preter unam Atticam regionem; cumque Gallorum stoliditatem, Hispaniarum simulationes, Asie moliciem, atque Africe dolos in³ medium attulissent, tunc e turba unus: Quid de ridicula, inquit, Italia, dicam, quippe cum eam in fabulam trahi cuperemus ego alique permulti? Cum amissam filiam Agenor ingemisceret, Cadmus filius Greciam exploraturus allabatur.⁴ Nos, ut pudenda adulteria sororis pretexeret, hanc fabulam mutati in taurum dei ac puellam dorso⁵ deportantis animo clam instillavimus. Posteriores deinde theologi, ut vocantur,⁶ rem⁷ celebriorem ac⁸ comendatiorem⁹ claro stilo fecere. Tota autem Italia fabelle¹⁰ est¹¹ taurus. Apennini namque dorsum taurino¹² comparavimus, cui¹³ cornua fixerunt Alpes.¹⁴ (12) Et ore¹ lascivis,² viro gregis, consentiunt.³ Hec nam(que)⁴ quota terrarum portiuncula inexhaustis

8. Classical Telmessus in Caria (near Halicarnassus in Asia Minor) had a reputation for oracles and divination; cf. Cic. *Div.* 1.91, and the note on the latter passage in the edition of the *De divinatione* by A. S. Pease in *University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature* 6 (1920) 161–500, and 8 (1923) (repr. Darmstadt 1963) 113–474; and W. P. Paton, J. L. Myres, and E. L. Hicks, “Three Karian Sites,” *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 14 (1894) 373–380, at 378–379. 9. *fig. ante caneabant del. N.* 10. *sacerdo ante boni del. N.* 11. *ipse ante inter del. N.* 12. *confi del., et noctu supra lin. scrip. N.*

(8) 1. *malim Latiar; aliquid supra lin. ante Latias scr. et postea del. N; supra as in Latias aliquid scr. N, quod legere non possum (forte us).* 2. *eps excisae sunt ad marg.* 3. *quam excisae sunt ad marg.* 4. On these two sibyls see Pauly-Wissowa, 1.1 (1893), 1337 (Albunea) and 5.2 (1905) 1980–1981 (Egeria). 5. *ex quam corr. N.* 6. *ad ante Trinacrium del. N.* 7. *sit ante est del. N.* 8. Apparently a reference to Islam. 9. *coegerim malim.*

(9) 1. Wife of Minos and mother of the Minotaurus, the fruit of her liaison with a beautiful bull because of a mad passion instilled in her by Poseidon; see W. H. Roscher, *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie*, 7 vols. in 10 (Leipzig 1884–1937) 3.1.1666ff. 2. *mactavit hostias transp. N.* 3. *et supra lin.; antea nec poetarum ullus ante et del. N.* 4. *mimorum tanta transp. N.* 5. *mutatum luserit ante ad del. N.*

(10) 1. *prophete ante vates del. N.* 2. *esse ante aberrasse N del.* 3. *fecere instru ante sumministrarunt del. N.*

(11) 1. *quondam supra lin.* 2. *magnum mali ante omnem del. N.* 3. *expe ante in del. N.* 4. *allabatur ante allabatur del. N.* Agenor, King of Tyre or Sidon, was the father and Cadmus the brother of Europa. Zeus seduced her by transforming himself into a beautiful white bull and carrying her off to Crete (cf. the deletion recorded in the next note), where she bore him Minos and Rhadamanthys, and/or Sarpedon; see Roscher, *Lexikon* 1.1.1410–1418. 5. *in Creta (?) ante dorso del. N.* 6. *ex vident correxi.* 7. *rem supra lin.; antea carionem scr. et del. N.* 8. *ill ante ac del. N.* 9. *e ante r in comendatiorem N del.* 10. *ex fabella correxi.* 11. *fabella est in marg. sinist. iteravit N¹.* 12. *taurino supra lin.; in lin. bovillo del. N.* 13. *ex cuius corr. N.* 14. *Alpes in marg. sinist. iteravit N¹.*

(12) 1. *pri (?) ante ore del. N.* 2. *lascivis supra lin.; antea, libido scr. et del. N.* 3. *consentiat correxi.* The singular could work if we understand *ore* metonymically (“the shores of Italy”), but how do we justify the subjunctive? 4. *(que) : foramen in pagina.*

desideriis agitata per aquas votis⁵ flagrat, gestit, inhiat.⁶ Et iccirco adeo salsos⁷ se protendit fluctus ut undique omni ex portu, omni e regione appetitu⁸ estuante conquirit⁹ quo¹⁰ ardentem¹¹ ac tartaream¹² possit demulcere voraginem. Nulli tam perdit mores, nulla tam dira flagitia alie unquam terre attentata que¹³ non statim emula turpitudinum asportarit¹⁴ Italia. Hec, dum virium est conscia, Europe¹⁵ terras¹⁶ alias, quibus contermina est, comprimit, subagitat, frenat.¹⁷

(13) At ideo datus est fabule locus: taurum puellam comprimere mira regionis nequitate.¹ Sed quid est quod ipsa quoque levis dorsum scandit?² Neque hic etiam sensum³ opus est querere quando aliquid ad rem vestisse⁴ est satis in fabula. Non tamen et hic defecisse debuerim. Nam ubi non modo totam Europam suis expilaverit magisteriis et taurinis ostenderit cornibus se terribilem, verum etiam cum omnium patriarum opes luxumque dorso sibi aggererit, dum fruitur et Libie⁵ taurea perfusa, enervata voluptate qu(i)escit⁶ ac solvitur, tum etiam⁷ sipiscens⁸ Europa dorsum scandit. (14) Gentesque alie Europe,¹ [N 22r] cum² geniali illam luxu obrutam atque obesa pinguitie saginatam luxuriantique arvina lascivientem rescium, iuga Alpium armate scandunt, omniaque diris³ obscenitatibus mancipata, predatione, incendiis, populatione⁴ devastant ut per novelle segetis agrum Nilum, Gangem, Histrum devolutos putes. Sic Brennus,⁵ sic Galli, sic alii sepe barbari effecere efficientque identidem⁶ ut Apenninam simul feritatem luxumque identidem reprimant.

(15) Hec et multa ad eam rem Atticus, ut quotiens de Italie cupiditate, ambitione, luxuria sermo ferat(ur), proverbium inter nos increbuerit: Atticum¹ taurum, quasi rem dixerimus monstrosissimam.

(16) Hec prolixius forte quam institutum pateretur. Ideo non aspernatus sum remeteri, quamquam etiam per fabellam ut quam maxime¹ fieri a te potest. Tuorum ingratitudini occurrat,² quando³ dei domum ac ingentissima beneficia preter⁴ ceteras⁵ terras sortita⁶ est, saltem ne magnitudinem donorum scelerum magnitudine tam ingrata compenset. Licet fore, non ambigam, clariores eius urbes Greciam et Iudeam exitus calamitate superaturas. Video senticosa increvisse necessaria. Video⁷ deserta, ignota, invia, et tantum diris feta et⁸ undique scatentia latrociniiis⁹ ut suppliciis obeundis culpam sero agnoscentem culpe¹⁰ sero poeniteat.

(17) Quid est amplius quod moliri posteritas possit¹ si celum ipsi petitis stultitia, et nihil ardui sibi humanus furor putet? In Prothagoram quondam in divinis asserendis titubatum miro odio animadvertit antiquitas, quod librum quem de natura conscripserat eo incoharit exordio: "De diis neque ut sint neque ut non sint habeo dicere."² Qua temeritate commoti Athenienses hominem Abderiten, temporibus quidem illis sophisten vel³ maximum, urbe atque agro exter-

5. aquas votis *supra lin.* 6. gestit inhiat *supra lin.* 7. se in (?) *ante salsos del. N.* 8. c . . . di (?) anxie *ante appetitu del. N.* 9. duas litteras *ante conquirit del. N.* 10. ex quod (?) *corr. N.* 11. dentem in ardentem *in marg. sinist. iteravit N.* 12. tartaream ac ardentem *transp. N.* 13. quam (?) *ante que del. N.* 14. Ita *ante asportarit del. N.* 15. ex Europam *corr. N.* 16. ter *ante terras del. N.* 17. e *ante frenat del. N.*

(13) 1. *In marg. adnotationem nunc partim excisam scr. Nicol. Scutellius:* Europa / -i tauro / et aspera su- / -one Gebura / festat. 2. eq (?) *ante scandit del. N.* 3. bonam *ante sensum del. N.* 4. con *ante vestisee del. N.* 5. That is, the accusative of *Libye, es.* 6. litteram *ante qu(i)escit del. N.* 7. at (?) *ante etiam del. N.* 8. pro spissescens.

(14) 1. Europe *in marg. infer. iteravit N.* 2. cum saginatam arvina *ante cum del. N.* 3. duas litteras *ante diris del. N.* 4. volup *ante populatione del. N.* 5. Brennus was the leader of the Gauls when they sacked Rome in 390 B.C.; see Liv. 5.38.3 and 48.8. 6. efficientque identidem *supra lin.*

(15) 1. ex Atticuti (?) *corr. N.*

(16) 1. fier *ante maxime del. N.* 2. t in occurrat *transita est a linea obliqua, sed Aegidium eam delere voluisse non credo.* 3. ut cum cl (?) *ante quando del. N.* 4. ultra *ante preter del. N.* 5. ceteras *supra lin.; antea quam scr. et del. N.* 6. omnis (?) *ante sortita del. N.* 7. video *in marg. add. N.* 8. duas litteras *ante et del. N;* sca *post et del. N;* deinde, *per lapsum et iteravit.* 9. latrocinii *sub lin. ad marg. dext.* 10. ser *ante culpe del. N.*

(17) 1. ste *inter po et ssit del. N.* 2. Cic. *Nat. D.* 1.63. 3. pan *ante vel del. N.*

minarunt. Neque librorum superesse memoriam passi sunt, sed in media concione adductos vulcano devorandos obiecerunt.⁴

(18) Maximum Atheniensibus flagitium risum est, quod de¹ diis sibi minime dicendum scripserit, Abderitis.² Nostri vero homunculi omnia scelerosa licentia pervertentes, Prothagoreis ambagibus haud quamquam contenti, palam aggressi³ sunt celum rescindere et in celi presidem nephanda arma movere, quodque longe detestabilius est, multis cavillis sententiam asciscere ut quos non dum natos seducere coram non poterant mortui etiam per scelestissimos libros ab omni pietate deturbarent. Dabitur fortasse occasio, cum satis pro dignitate astruam,⁴ et esse deum et deos plures illum comitantes, illi amministrantes, et ab illo genitos, ut apostolus et propheta testantur,⁵ quin⁶ defen<dere>,⁷ quod nunc⁸ non⁹ obmiserim.

(19) Scito etiam antiquos magnificis atque inexpugnatis defendisse testimoniis. Ii precipue qui aut arcana Moysis lectitarunt aut ab iis qui viderant cognoverunt. Trismegistum, Pythagoram, Platonem intelligo, quibus, quantum quidem in humanis tenebris per naturam licet, nemo de divinis est locutus certius. Hos si complecterentur nostri homines, Afrum adolescentem¹ imitarentur, qui tenebrosa nature mendacia tandem sentiens, sancte² genitr<ici>³ sese votis prodidit, et a Mediolanensi episcopo proximis diebus sacris initiatus mire sanctitatis et sapientie presapia ostendit. Ad quam sane rem obeundam⁴ in precipue causa⁵ [N 22v] fuisse⁶ asseverant, quod horum, quos numeravi, philosophorum fuerat apprime studiosus.

(20) Ab¹ Academicis porro rationes quattuor mutuatus Cleantes, quamquam Stoici Zenonis auditor, deos seu² sapientes³ mentes mundi rectrices esse contendit.⁴ Primam quippe a predictionibus ducit. Nam preter⁵ sacros prophetas, quorum scriptis nos omnes⁶ fere rerum eventus⁷ affatim⁸ obstrusimus,⁹ habuit Grecia, Italia, alieque regiones permulte vates et fatidicos viros feminasque, quas sibyllas vocant, futuras ambages ac cecas tenebras luce vaticinii clarissime inalbantes¹⁰ multaque absque ullo involucrio prenarrantes. Non illuc usque profecto humane pertinent mentes quando¹¹ in iis que variari in humanis solent nihil omnino diiudicant nisi que corporis sensoris presentia fuerint. (21) Ergo¹ quemadmodum si vasa omnia mense² imposita inania ac vacua fuerint, postea in eorum quopiam inventa vina sint, aliud fuisse vas oportet ubi et hec ipsa prius vina clauderentur, vacui—quidni?—expertesque divinationis³ humani per se animi. Quodsi quis futura quoque presentiat, non natura id facit. Omnes sane itidem factitarunt. Mentem itaque prefuisse⁴ necesse est, ubi perinde ac in rerum presignatione atque exemplari futurorum note eternum, inuste, celateque observantur.⁵ Sic Noe a deo comonefactus⁶ illuvionis [sic]⁷ certus arcam edificat. Quodsi, ut impii cavillant, Assyriorum⁸ Egyptiorumque id artibus tribuas,⁹ quamquam ars que ex observatione nascitur, quomodo id observavit quod non alias aut fuisset aut futurum sit? (22) Sed esto aquarum inundationes superstitiosi illi

4. Cic. *ibid.*

(18) 1. dubitasse *ante de del. N.* 2. *ex Abderites correxi.* 3. That is, *aggressi.* 4. *pro dignitate astruam supra lin.* 5. I do not know what Giles has in mind; but cf. 1 Cor. 8.5 and Hebr. 1.7 for St. Paul, and Ps. 81.1 and 103.4 (Vulgate) for David. 6. *quin supra lin.* 7. <dere> *ad marg. excisas esse coniicio.* 8. *ex quodam (?) corr. N.* 9. *dixerim ante non del. N.*

(19) 1. *Sc. St. Augustine.* 2. *matris Cristi . . . ante sancte del. N.* 3. <ici> *ad marg. excisae sunt.* 4. *aliquam litteram ante obeundam del. N.* 5. *in ante causa del. N.* 6. *fuisse ad finem f. 22r scr. N, sed delevisse et iterasse ad initium f. 22v videtur antequam hae litterae excisae erunt ad marg. infer. f. 22r.*

(20) 1. *ap ante ab del. N.* 2. *esse con ante seu del. N.* 3. *inte ante sapientes del. N.* 4. See Cic. *Nat. D.* 2.13–15, where the Academy is not mentioned. 5. *ex plera (?) corr. N.* 6. *ex omnia corr. N.* 7. *a (?) ante eventus del. N.* 8. *affatim supra lin.* 9. Collateral form of *obtrudo*, *obtrusi.* 10. *ex sine mut. N.* 11. *que in iis ante quando del. N.*

(21) 1. *igitur post ergo scr. N, sed abstuli.* 2. *mense bis scrip. N, sed deinde corr.* 3. *futu ante divinationis del. N.* 4. *etiam ante prefuisse del. N.* 5. *vantur in observantur in marg. sinist. iteravit N¹.* 6. *Recte comonefactus.* 7. *Recte eluvionis.* 8. *in ante Assyriorum del. N.* 9. *ex tribuas correxi.*

presagire mentiantur. Quo unquam horoscopo, quo aspectu, quo siderum situ¹ presignarunt unquam urbes² absorbendas? Presensit tamen, me predicante, bonus Loth, qui vix collem urbi iminentem³ conscenderat cum dehiscentem tellurem, ut prenotarat, urbem⁴ absorbuisset cognovit. Ubi nanque fora, templa, domus, alteque murorum surgebant⁵ mine, nihil ultra nisi sulphura, asphaltum,⁶ bitumen comparuit. Preerat itaque deus, qui, ruine auctor, non ignarus rem adaperuit. Mitto quot⁷ oracula, quot auspicia, quot somnia, quot predictiones Grecia Romaque conscripserunt⁸, que dei quandoque nutu, demonibus procurantibus, permissa non ab re fuere. Ego quoque non tibi⁹ preibo¹⁰ quam multa prenarrantem¹¹ ipse audias.¹²

(23) Altera ratio a commodis celi ducitur. Unde tam iucunda serenitas, tam grata luxuriansque¹ fertilitas hominibus passim suggeritur, que nullo fieri pacto quirent nisi ab eo qui et que bona sint et quomodo fieri debeant probe intelligat.²

(24) Tertiam rationem supplicia malorum faciunt,¹ que tam sepe scelestos, sacrilegos, fragitiosos² insectari cognoscitis. Omnia³ sane lex nostra tum tuta, tum comperte fidei atque explore habet certitudinis. Verum hoc, si sapitis, non in postremis iudiciis numerabitis. Erige, queso, animos, et an opinatissimam afferam rationem tecum⁴ diiudica.⁵

(25) Finge tibi ordinatissimam sive familiam¹ sive rempublicam seu mavis imperium. Tum sume² potitum³ qui aliis eque ac iure imperat. Punit sepe labentes, non tamen cruciabili inquisitione. Explorat omnia. Nec minima queque (non)⁴ animadvertenda existimat.⁵ Alioquin omnia prorsus diruere, si⁶ licet, oporteret. Sed quedam comiter suadet; quedam⁷ rursus⁸ deterret; quedam non ab re dissimulanter preterit, aut meliora sperans aut tempestivius⁹ conspicatus, languida¹⁰ contatione¹¹ supplicium.¹² (26) Si quem¹ tamen nullius omnino spei censuerit vitamque² eius perditam omnino ac³ nephariam senserit, profecto⁴ bona causa quandoque multam differri, auferri vero omnino permittit nunquam. Ita sane humane reipublice censor deus. Omnia, antequam forent, equa atque item iniqua certo iudicio discapedinavit; cumque illa iam dudum de⁵ divina specula presignata in terris proveniunt, ipse, ut olim s(em)perque⁶ immotus constituerat, quedam a rebus abradit statim; quedam perpetuo cura eius alumnata fovet; quedam, quamquam note⁷ improbitatis, superesse tamen tantisper patit. (27) Sacrosanctum¹ lucrum ex illorum² interitu fruitur. Hoc namque peculiare alioquin atque indigenum deo imprimis est, ut ex iniquis³ improbisque rebus, facta, non expectata occasio(e), (bona faciat).⁴ [N 23r]

(22) 1. *duas litteras ante situ del. N.* 2. *urbium ante urbes del. N.* 3. *Recte iminentem.* 4. *urbem in marg. sinist. iteravit N¹.* 5. *astabant ante surgebant del. N.* 6. *That is, a transliteration of Greek ἀσφαλτος, which is bitumen in Latin.* 7. *quot in marg. sinist. iteravit N¹.* 8. *(int) comecio; excisae sunt ad marg. dext.; conscripserit in marg. sinist. iteravit N¹, sed pluralem malim.* 9. *tibi scripsi: a te scripsisse videtur N.* 10. *preibo iteravit N¹ inter hanc lin. et proximam* 11. *That is, Michael the Archangel.* 12. *quam multa prenarrantem ipse audias in marg. sinist. add. N.*

(23) 1. *luxu in marg. sinist. iteravit N¹.* 2. *This is Cleanthes's fourth argument in Cicero. Nat. D. 2.15.*

(24) 1. *t ad marg. dext excisa est, sed in marg. sinist. faciunt iteravit N¹.* 2. *That is, the fractious or rebellious? Fragitiosus is not recorded in the Thesaurus linguae latinae.* 3. *h ante omnia del. N.* 4. *re (?) ante tecum del. N.* 5. *This argument is not one of Cleanthes's as reported by Cicero.*

(25) 1. *republicam ante familiam del. N.* 2. *sume scripsi: suma N.* 3. *potitum scripsi (v. potitus in prima sent. §33 infra): potitus N.* 4. *If we omit non, then this sentence contradicts the preceding sentence and ruins the next (alioquin omnia prorsus diruere oportet).* 5. *existimat ad marg. dext. des. init; existimatur in marg. sinist. scr. N¹, sed tempus passivum mihi videtur error.* 6. *quam (?) ante si del. N.* 7. *quedam scripsi: quedat N.* 8. *rursus in marg. sinist. iteravit N¹.* 9. *litteras pesti in tempestivius in marg. sinist. iteravit N¹.* 10. *tres litteras, deinde dil, deinde marce ante languida del. N.* 11. *That is, cunctatione.* 12. *Recte supplicium.*

(26) 1. *ita ferme humane discipline custos deus ante si quem del. N.* 2. *ce ante vitamque del. N.* 3. *atque ante ac del. N.* 4. *patietur ante profecto del. N.* 5. *pre ante de del. N.* 6. *sperque N.* 7. *perspectus ante note del. N.*

(27) 1. *lucrum sa ante sacrosanctum del. N.* 2. *illorum in marg. sinist. iteravit N¹.* 3. *aliquid ante iniquis scr. N, sed partim excisum ad marg. infer.; forte quoque deletum est.* 4. *-e bona faciat*

(28) Huius vero rei uti penita mente ratio inhereat pressius, operepretium facturum putavi si occultorum inaccessas vices deo tantum dei que senatui cognitae paulo altius repetandas ordiar. Humanarum tibi rerum ambages tam lubricas, tam sinuosas, tam laxas brevi lineatione ob oculos expono tuos. Quodsi non marcenti aut oscitabundo¹ te exhibeas animo, quam vecordes, quam stupidi, quam etiam non homines extimandi sint qui de deo asserendo colendove hesitant facile iudicabis.

(29) Volo augustos Romane reipublice successus mente arbitrere. Nihil enim neque habuit neque habitura est terra magnificentius, licet fortasse sapientius aliquid iam cudatur. Quinque autem vicissitudines in urbis illius incremento diversis spatiorum curriculis excurrere cognosces.¹ Primo quidem Hetrusci pastores² ante Amulii³ obrunctionem palantes secundum Tyberas ripas in silvis agrisque divertebant. Nulli curiam, nulli fora, nulli magistratus, nulli ne moenia quidem ipsa satis norant. Hec prima Romani fastus rudimenta. (30) Hec Catulorum, Paulorum, ac Cesarum auspicia ut nunquam eos Palatium, Capitolia, Romam, terrarumque orbem fastidire posse credideris. Quorum⁴ maiores magalia et perexigui gurgostoli casulas equi bonique facientes leti incoluere. Hiis nulle unquam therme satis ample vise sunt. Illis hospitium satis quandoque geniale cavi roborum ac fagorum trunci sumministrarunt. Hec sane generosa² alioquin atque alta Quiritium incunabula. Hinc atriis disposita tanto apium labore stemmata traxerunt³ originem. Hinc Fabii, hinc Pisones talia exordia ipsis quoque nominibus arguentes,⁴ quasi pre agrestes⁵ quernarum glandium mensas tam⁶ divina visa sint humaniora legumina ut inde familias⁷ perpetuo nuncupari laudi duxerint. (31) Altera Martie¹ gentis fortuna fuit: cogi a Romulo quos "tante molis"² fuit a montium crepidinibus ac dumetis evocare ut, asylo erecto,³ nemo etiamnum progrediretur nisi quos latrocinii ac malefitorum conscientia suppliciorum metu agitabat. Homines itaque utcumque desiderans bonus Romulus hos vix tandem egregie coegit. Quam vero amplas latasque familias theatrice fraudes indicarunt. Neque⁴ enim coniugibus carebant modo. Sed nec emere quidem nisi efferata sacrilegaque vi⁵ usquam⁶ poterant.⁷ (32) Tertius laboriosi ducis seu anxii archimandrite labor fuit: erecta tuguriola muro cingere.¹ Qui² tandem, si Semiramidis edificio non fuisset humilior, declinare procul dubio poterat parricidii tam infandi³ calumniam.⁴ Sed omen fecit cruor menibus perexiguis.⁵ Fore nempe portendit nonnisi⁶ numinibus hominum⁷ cruoris sitientibus, opibus⁸ universi⁹ orbis cruore¹⁰ punicantibus adolescerent. Porro regum industria curatum est ut rustica angustaque illa murorum paupertas magnifica mina-

ad marg. excisa sunt, sed expectatione occasione bona faciat in marg. dext iteravit N¹.

(28) 1. That is, *oscitabundo*.

(29) 1. For what follows cf. Orosius, *Adv. paganos* (I used the edition of K. Zangemeister, in *Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum Latinorum* 5 [Vienna 1882]) 6.1.13: "ut ipse Romulus, parens Romae, inter tot mala ab ipso ortu suo ingruentia saluus esset, colendo quis meruit? an Amulius avus, qui exposuit ad necem?" and 2.4.2: "cuius regnum continuo Romulus parricidio imbuat, parique successu crudelitatis sine more raptas Sabinas, improbis nuptiis confoederatas maritorum et parentum cruore dotavit. itaque Romulus, interfecto primum avo Numitore dehinc Remo fratre, arripuit imperium Urbemque constituit; regnum aui, muros fratris, templum soceri sanguine dedicavit." 2. Giles's understanding of the Etruscans along the banks of the Tiber (Vatican side) was dominated by his belief in the forgeries of Annio da Viterbo; see O'Malley (n. 1 above) 123-124. 3. *de ante Amulii del. N.* Cf. Liv. 1.5, and n. 1 above.

(30) 1. *quasi ante quorum del. N.* 2. *quiritium ante generosa del. N.* 3. *du . . . ante traxerunt del. N.* 4. Cf. Plin. *HN* 18.3.10. 5. *agrestes supra lin.; antea coram silvestriam glan scr. et del. N.* 6. *la ad ante tam del. N.* 7. *laudi ante familias del. N.*

(31) 1. *ex Martii corr. N.* 2. Cf. Vir. *Aen.* 1.33. 3. On Romulus's mountain asylum (Liv. 1.8) see Roscher, *Lexikon*, 4.184-185. 4. *non modo ante neque del. N.* 5. *furto ante vi del. N.* 6. *duas litteras ante usquam del. N.* 7. That is, the rape of the Sabine women; cf. §29, n. 1 above.

(32) 1. *Sc. Tarquinius; see Livy 1.35ff.* 2. *Qui ex quam corr. N.* 3. *tam infandi parricidii transp. N.* 4. Cf. §29, nn. 1, 3 above. 5. *Ibid.*; Liv. 7.2; and Augustine, *De civ. dei*, 3.6. 6. *nonnisi supra lin.; antea ut nonnisi ope numinum et scr. et del. N.* 7. *hominum supra lin.* 8. *ga (?) atque ante opibus del. N.* 9. *que om (?) gentium ante universi del. N.* 10. *ex cruorem corr. N.*

rum mole i(n)stauraret.¹¹ Postrema vero addita¹² est manus: cum fortunis, tropheis, imperiis¹³ ad sum(m)a¹⁴ excrevit fastigia.

(33) Vides ergo ut rem teneas: primo quidem sparsos agrestes, deinde coactos, tum muro conceptos, mox adaucta civitate spectatores, postremo rerum potitos celo adluctari. Habes urbis quinque has adeo diverse habitudinis fortunas, quasi¹ ingredientis passus aut scandentis gradus aut subcrescentis etates ea² disciplina exactas ut sola urbis gloria³ adolesceret, cetera prorsus illius auctande gratia, etiam cum res posceret, de medio tollerentur. (34) Perit silvestris¹ illa pastorum securitas.² Cesus est in ipso statim initio frater. Lesa Sabinorum fides et coniugia. Pulsi reg(es).³ Solo equate domus.⁴ Libertatis et salutis⁵ assertores urbe pulsi. Cives lapid(ibus)⁶ obruti. Cesi miserrime multorum triumphorum imperatores. Ipse denique sacrosanctus senatus terra marique profugus effectus ut summa Romani nominis gloria per omnes casuum fluctuationes . . . ⁷ [N 23v] (35) Passa est diutile [sic]¹ reges, diutile consules, tribunos diutile. Maris denique i(n)star,² quod sordes non³ potest perpetuo cohibere complexu, que egre atque inique cepta sunt, superfuerint, tametsi tantisper. Carpsit tamen ac delevit etas. Sola mera conscientia unice laudis superba, deo⁴ quoque applaudente, perseverat.⁵

(36) Rem plane perexiguam diximus. Unius urbis¹ disciplinam nec totius orbis² providentiam recognosce.

11. istauraret N. 12. addita *scripsi*: ddita N; ad *ante* ddita *del.* N. 13. im, *deinde* regnisque *ante* imperiis *del.* N. 14. suma N.

(33) 1. ac *ante* quasi *del.* N. 2. h *ante* ea *del.* N. 3. solo (?) *ante* gloria *del.* N.

(34) 1. sev *ante* silvestris *del.* N. 2. rustic *ante* securitas *del.* N. 3. (es) *ad marg. excisae sunt.*

4. I.e., "houses are leveled [*aequatae*] to the ground;" cf. Quint. *Instit. Orat.* 3.7.20. 5. victorie *ante* salutis *del.* N. 6. (ibus) *ad marg. excisae sunt.* 7. *ultima linea paginae excisa est; solum apices aliquarum litterarum remanent.*

(35) 1. Recte diutule. 2. istar N. 3. sina (?) *ante* non *del.* N. 4. in dies perserverant antiqui *ante* deo *del.* N. 5. perseverant *correx.*

(36) 1. quippe, *deinde* plane *ante* urbis *del.* N. 2. cap *ante* orbis *del.* N.